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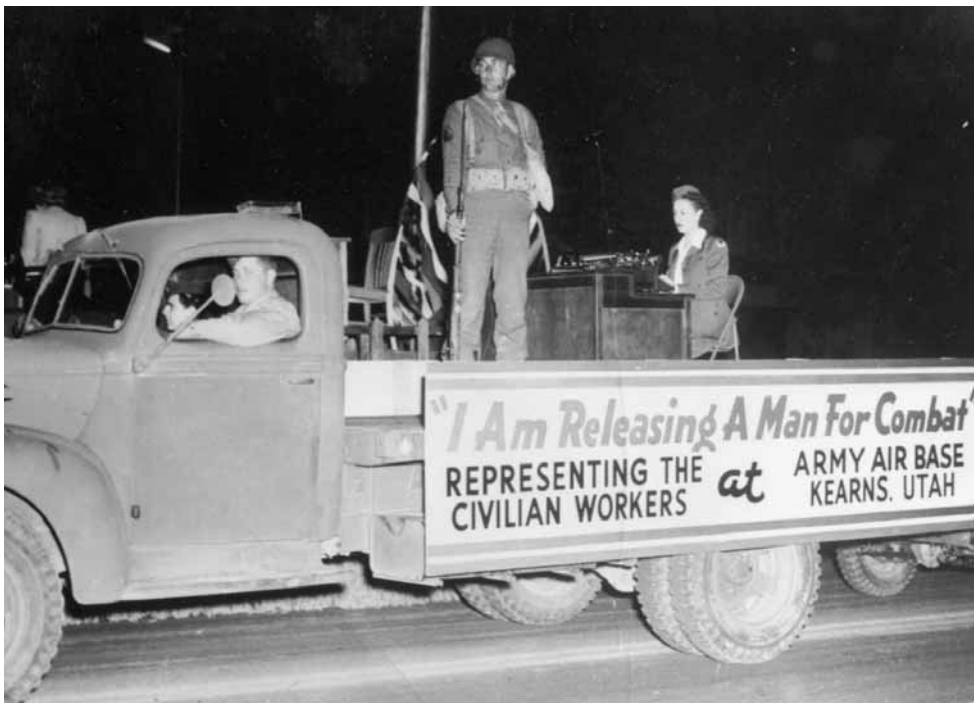

SALT LAKE TRIBUNE COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Robert J. Dwyer is remembered as an official of the Utah State Historical Society, frequent contributor to the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, and author of *The Gentile Comes to Utah: A Study in Religious and Social Conflict (1861-1890)*. This classic, along with Leonard Arrington's *Great Basin Kingdom*, still remains the two basic studies of 19th century Utah. The first article in this issue looks at the career of Robert Dwyer as a Utah historian and places that career in the context of his remarkable life as an American religious leader that began as the first native Utahn to be ordained a Roman Catholic priest and continued through his ministry as Archbishop of Portland, Oregon.

Two cherished tenants of American life are the opportunity for learning and a responsibility for political action. The Blue Tea, Utah's first women's literary club, was established in 1875 and its officers soon launched an ambitious study program for the twenty-five members of this exclusive club. While members increased their knowledge and established deep friendships, controversy and conflict arose. Political and social issues attracted more and more attention and in 1880 Jennie Anderson Froiseth, the club founder, became the driving force for the monthly *Anti-Polygamy Standard*, which served as the official newspaper for the Anti-Polygamy Society. Our second article provides a fascinating view of the Blue Tea and its struggles.

After the United States entered World War II in December 1941, Utah women were called to action as volunteers in the home war effort.

Through an effective and committed statewide organization of Minute Women, Utah women marshaled resources and secured materials that helped tip the scales for an American victory. Our third article chronicles the efforts of Salt Lake City Minute Women to collect tin cans, cooking fat, nylons, and other salvage items from scrap metal to worn out cloths and burlap sacks as part of America's total war effort.

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With our network of highways and interstate routes and our high-speed, comfortable vehicles, it is hard to imagine what the construction of the Sanpete Valley Railroad meant to wagon travelers in central Utah a century ago. No doubt it was profound and exciting. Nevertheless, this new form of transportation, as our concluding article illustrates, encountered its own challenges and adventures as trains chugged their way between Nephi and Manti and into the hearts of a past generation of Utahns.

In this first issue for 2003, we come to know an important Utah historian and religious leader, observe the political activities and intellectual pursuits of Salt Lake City society women of the nineteenth century and the work of patriotic-minded women in the twentieth century. Finally, we board one of Utah's rural railroad trains for a nostalgic trip from Nephi up Salt Creek Canyon, across the divide, and down through Sanpete Valley. Enjoy the ride.

***OPPOSITE:** Salt Lake Minute Women's Float in military parade, Main Street, Salt Lake City, October 1943. **ABOVE:** Salt Lake Tribune newspaper boy sells headline newspaper on Main Street, Salt Lake City, declaring victory in Europe, May 8, 1945.*
***ON THE COVER:** Sanpete Valley Railway engine and officials. Courtesy Brigham Young University, Utah State Historical Society.*

Robert J. Dwyer and the Writing of Utah History

By GARY TOPPING

SALT LAKE CATHOLIC DIOCESE ARCHIVES

***Father Robert J. Dwyer (1908-1976) at about the time he wrote* The Gentile Comes to Utah.**

The career of Robert Joseph Dwyer (1908-76) was one of the most remarkable of any Roman Catholic priest in Utah history. The first native Utahn to be ordained to the priesthood (1932), Dwyer was consecrated Bishop of Reno (1952) and appointed Archbishop of Portland, Oregon (1966). No other Utah priest, to date, has advanced to bishop or archbishop. To add to the interest of his career, Dwyer received a Ph.D. in history from Catholic University of America in 1941 and published his dissertation, *The Gentile Comes to Utah: A Study in Religious and Social Conflict (1861-1890)*, a classic work which has never been superseded. During the years immediately preceding his move to Reno, he served as an official of the Utah State Historical Society and contributed several articles to the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, as well as the entirety of volumes 13 and 14 (the edited diaries of Albert Tracy and Lorenzo D. Young). A writer of considerable intellectual power and literary skill, Dwyer found time within his busy schedule as priest and bishop to contribute regular articles and columns to Catholic periodicals, and served as editor of *The Intermountain Catholic*, the newspaper of the Diocese of Salt Lake City, and of *The National Catholic Register*, a conservative weekly national Catholic newspaper.[1]

Dwyer's father was John C. Dwyer, a

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[1] Albert J. Steiss, ed., *Ecclesiastes: The Book of Archbishop Robert Dwyer* (Los Angeles: National Catholic Register, 1982) contains a well-chosen collection of Dwyer's articles on a wide range of personal, cultural, and religious topics, and the only substantial biographical sketch in existence. The present article draws upon Steiss's work, research in the Dwyer Papers at the Archives of the Diocese of Salt Lake City, and interviews with Tomi Taniguchi, Bernice Mooney, and others who knew Dwyer.

businessman of middling prosperity in Salt Lake City who sold furniture at Standard Furniture and became director of the sales staff. His mother, Mabel Maynard Dwyer, was of French Canadian ancestry, from whom the future archbishop learned the French language with a Quebec accent. The couple was married in Salt Lake City's Cathedral of the Madeleine in 1906 by the celebrated pioneer bishop Lawrence Scanlan, and shortly after the birth of their only child in 1908 they moved into the spacious two-story house built around 1890 in the Victorian Eclectic style at 1235 Second Avenue where they would spend the rest of their lives.[2]

Although the Mormon population was numerous and dominant in the demography and culture of Salt Lake City, the Dwyers rooted themselves deeply in the Catholic community, and late in his life the archbishop looked back fondly on "the scenes of his native Utah, where he grew up very cheerfully as a Gentile."[3] A lanky, bookish boy, Dwyer disdained athletics and the outdoor life in favor of immersion in the sets of classic novels and histories installed in the home by his father, who had attended the University of Nebraska and Creighton University. Precocious as a scholar, Dwyer characterized himself as "a rather literary, studious youngster" who took delight in baffling his mother by employing arcane words in his conversation and school papers, and when he left home to study for the priesthood, it was joked that he had read every book in Salt Lake City and had entered the seminary primarily to find more. The joke missed the mark, though, for no one could have been earmarked more clearly for a life in the church than Dwyer, who eschewed typical childish hobbies and recreations to design and sculpt clay models of imaginary cathedrals.[4]

Dwyer's formal education began at Wasatch Public School (1913-20) near his home, then proceeded through Judge Memorial Catholic Grammar and High Schools, where he enrolled "with a shining morning face," as he put it, as a seventh grader in its first year (1920) and graduated in 1926.[5] Evidently he completed his high school credits early, for by graduation day he was already off in pursuit of his priestly vocation. Obviously inspired by an uncle who had recently (1920) been ordained in

[2] Karl Haglund and Philip F. Notarianni, *The Avenues of Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1980), 93.

[3] Robert Joseph Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah* 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1971), *vi-vii*.

[4] *Northwest Magazine*, January 1, 1967, 4. (copy in diocesan archives); Steiss, *Ecclesiastes*, 3. A photograph of one of Dwyer's sculptures is in Steiss, *Ecclesiastes* photograph section between pp. 30-31, and others are in the diocesan archives. Dwyer's dabbling in the plastic arts is further manifested in a chalice he designed for himself and the headstones he designed for his parents' graves. He also played an active role in planning the renovation of the Reno cathedral and gathered a large collection of original paintings and furniture pieces.

[5] Robert J. Dwyer, "Catholic Education in Utah, 1875-1975," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (Fall 1975): 372.

the Society of Mary, Dwyer ran away from home on Labor Day, 1925 (thus avoiding the possibility of dissuasion from his vocation by his parents, though they turned out to be pleased with his choice) and entered the Marist Seminary in Langhorne, Pennsylvania. For some reason he decided the Marist priesthood was not for him, however, and he left to enter St. Patrick's Seminary in Menlo Park, California, from which he graduated in 1932. He was ordained at the Cathedral of the Madeleine on June 11 of that year.

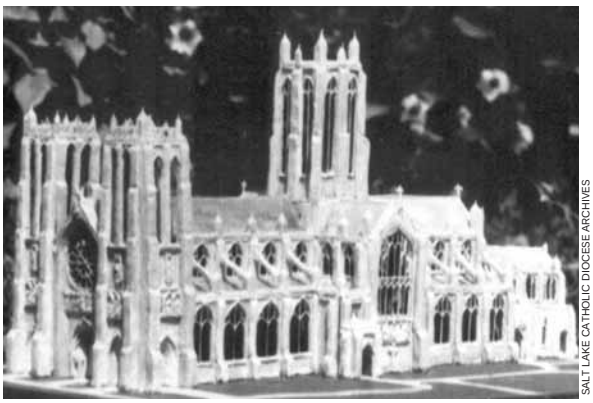
Dwyer's years at the Cathedral (1932-52) were busy ones. Not only did he advance from assistant pastor to Rector of the Cathedral, he also assumed a busy schedule of teaching and administration in the Catholic school system, including chaplain and instructor at St. Mary of the Wasatch and Judge Memorial High School, and Superintendent of Catholic Schools. Dwyer later modestly deprecated the latter responsibility: "it must be confessed . . . that it was more honorary than real."[6] Whatever the accuracy of that assessment, it is clear that the young priest had to juggle a variety of time-consuming responsibilities, and the fact that his literary output was voluminous and consistent is an indication of his tireless work ethic.

As he was advancing in the church, he also began a journalistic career as columnist and editor of *The Intermountain Catholic*. Journalism would remain a part of his priestly vocation for the rest of his life; in fact, he delayed the driver who was to take him to the hospital where he died until he finished his last column for *The National Catholic Register*. Although Dwyer's prose had an old-fashioned Victorian cast to it, his understated wit, his sense of irony, his omnivorous reading, and his acute mind guaranteed him a large and loyal readership over a long career.

Almost from the beginning of his ministry at the Cathedral of the Madeleine, it was apparent to Utah Catholics that a powerful intellect and prose stylist was in their midst. At the age of twenty-five, after less than two years of pastoral experience, Dwyer took over editorship of *The Intermountain Catholic* from Bishop Duane Hunt. From then until he left for Reno, the energetic Dwyer edited the paper and wrote no fewer than two weekly columns—"Intermountain Daybook," a commentary on doctrinal, moral, and political matters of current interest, and "Table Salt," a relatively informal and often humorous reflection on personal and local matters—in addition to his pastoral and teaching responsibilities.

That eighteen year period of journalistic endeavor was broken only twice, when Dwyer left to pursue his doctoral program at Catholic University from 1938-41, and a similar period, 1946-50, during which Bishop Hunt

[6] *Ibid.*, 378.



SALT LAKE CATHOLIC DIOCESE ARCHIVES

One of the imaginary miniature cathedrals Father Robert J. Dwyer designed and carved as a boy.

deemed it politic to remove him in the interest of peace with the Mormon community which one of his editorials had offended. It would be hard not to regard the Dwyer years as one of the high points of vigor and depth in Utah Catholic journalism. Dwyer's wide reading and awareness of current issues enabled him to comment poignantly on matters of national and international interest like the rise of the Soviet Union and world communism, and the onset of the Cold War and the nuclear arms race, while his deep involvement in his own community and his ready polemical skills earned a place for *The Intermountain Catholic* on the reading lists of Mormon and Protestant as well as Catholic.

Outside the Catholic community, though, Dwyer was probably best known and most influential as a historian. Although his ecclesiastical and journalistic responsibilities commanded time that he might otherwise have spent writing history, his output was substantial, especially considering the fact that he had a scant decade to write Utah history between completion of his doctoral program and his consecration as Bishop of Reno.[7] During much of that time, Dwyer served as Vice President of the Utah State Historical Society. As one would expect, his research and writing focused most often on Utah Catholic history, but his editing of the biography, diary, and other family documents of Brigham Young's brother Lorenzo Dow Young demonstrates a competence in Mormon history as well. Such wide-ranging expertise at the Society's service was especially welcome during those struggling years before the hiring of its first full-time Ph.D.-holding

[7] In addition to his 1941 dissertation cited above, Dwyer's published contributions to Utah history include editing, with J. Cecil Alter, the "Journal of Captain Albert Tracy, 1858-1860," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 13 (1945): *ix-xiii*, 1-119; and editing by himself the biography, diary, and other family records of Lorenzo Dow Young, *Utah Historical Quarterly* 14 (1946): 21-176; as well as writing "Pioneer Bishop: Lawrence Scanlan, 1843-1915,"*Utah Historical Quarterly* 20 (January 1952): 135-58; and "The Irish in the Building of the Intermountain West," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 25 (July 1957): 221-35. Even after leaving the state, Dwyer's interest in Utah history continued, though the quantity of his output fell off. While Archbishop of Portland, he returned to Salt Lake City to give the second annual American West Lecture, "Three Phases of Catholic Missionary Activity in the American West" (October 1, 1971); and only a year before his death he published "Catholic Education in Utah, 1875-1975," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (Fall 1975): 362-78.

Director, A. Russell Mortensen, as the organization groped its way toward professional respectability and regular quarterly publication of the *Utah Historical Quarterly*. A reception in the Governor's Mansion on August 10, 1952, honoring the departing bishop was attended by Gov. J. Bracken Lee and other dignitaries of church and state and active Utah historians. In his speech, Society President Joel E. Ricks told Dwyer he had "especially appreciated your friendly and wise counsel on committees, appointments, and other matters of interest to the society."[8] Although fulsome praise is not unheard of on such occasions, there is every reason to believe Ricks's comments were heartfelt. For his part, Dwyer urged that "I hope you will believe me, because it comes from my heart, that to sever my direct association with you is personally a very keen loss, because through the years that I have been connected with the society, I have taken a great deal of pleasure and derived a great deal of enjoyment and interest from the association that has been there."[9]

Dwyer's doctoral dissertation and his first published historical work, *The Gentile Comes to Utah*, was his masterpiece and his most influential essay in Utah history. When, in 1971, thirty years after its appearance, Dwyer was persuaded to overcome his "understandable reluctance to take up Clio's gauge once more" and issue a reprint edition despite the general acknowledgment "that there is nothing quite so dead as a thirty-year-old doctoral dissertation," he was able to justify the project by "the fact that thus far it has not been superseded."[10] Nor has it been even in our own day, at least as a whole, despite much research on specific topics covered by Dwyer: Patrick Edward Connor, the church-state conflict in territorial politics, religious conflict between the Mormons and other churches, and the anti-polygamy crusade leading to Mormon capitulation in the 1890 Manifesto.

By virtue of its chronological scope alone, Dwyer was able to achieve, in *The Gentile Comes to Utah*, a fresh historiographical perspective. In extending Utah history beyond the pioneer period (1847-69) to 1890, Dwyer disputed the Mormon triumphalist view, for in his interpretation, on that longer scale, the Gentiles were the ultimate victors. Mormon dominance did have to effect a certain compliance to national norms under Gentile pressure to abandon polygamy and theocratic politics. By the 1890s Dwyer saw not Mormonism triumphant, but Mormonism in retreat from its original form, Mormonism making a transition to a new "American" phase. His predecessors had skirted that story.

[8] "Historical Notes," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 20 (1952): 395.
[9] *Ibid.*, 396.
[10] Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah*, 2nd ed., vi, vii.

Other virtues of Dwyer's book are not hard to discover. Perhaps the most conspicuous one is the depth of its research, particularly in the hitherto almost untapped records of the National Archives, a research greatly facilitated by his having written his dissertation at Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C. So revealing were those records that Dwyer acidly castigates his predecessors in Utah history, particularly Andrew Love Neff of the University of Utah, for having neglected them: "It is difficult to understand why a man of his training and caution should have failed to take into account the possibility that the government archives might contain, as they do, rich stores of material that would modify, in important respects, his conclusions."[11] Realizing the freshness of those sources, Dwyer quotes them (and others) extensively, so that his book became to some degree, for historians of his day, a repository of primary material as well as an interpretive work. For later generations of scholars, those lengthy quotations betray the book's graduate school origins and impede the narrative flow.

Dwyer's prose, as one might expect of one who had spent his boyhood with one finger marking his place in a Victorian novel and the other in an unabridged dictionary, was already antiquated in 1941. The youth who had delighted in stumping his mother with arcane, if not obsolete, diction found an adult delight in similarly baffling his academic readers. On the Mormon-Gentile hostilities of the 1860s, for example, Dwyer observed that "if the governors were fainéants, the courts unable to move, and political action premature, life in the Territory continued to display unmitigated antagonism." Regarding the anti-polygamy crusade, he pointed out that the Gentile leaders understood "that if the campaign were to be successful, it would call for their instancy, in season and out of season, in bringing the Utah situation to the attention of the country at large."[12]

His literary allusions, too, are a bit arcane, as in "playing Roland against Oliver."[13] On the other hand, if the charm of Dwyer's prose was an antiquated one, it was, nevertheless, charming. His quick wit could bring a character to life in a phrase, like his reference to Thomas L. Kane as "the noted busybody from Philadelphia."[14] His chapters often begin with a vivid portrait of a person or a dramatic incident that sets the stage for what is to follow. Even the political hacks and mediocrities who served as territorial governors receive sketches of their personalities and backgrounds that bring

[11] *Ibid.*, 253.
[12] *Ibid.*, 47, 122.
[13] *Ibid.*, 134.
[14] *Ibid.*, 1.

them to life in all their smallness. Dwyer's wit and his sophistication as a researcher and interpreter of his materials, in other words, won over his academic audience much as the same qualities would later captivate a popular audience who looked forward to his newspaper columns. They established for him a *persona* of Olympian proportions and detachment whose judgments on the human frailties beneath him had to be taken seriously.

What distinguishes Dwyer's work most significantly, however, within the Utah historiography of his day—and for the most part of our own day as well—is his sense of irony. As defined by Reinhold Niebuhr, "Irony consists of apparently fortuitous incongruities in life which are discovered, upon closer examination, to be not merely fortuitous."[15] Stated in simpler terms by historian Paul M. Edwards, irony is "the incongruity between that which is expected and that which occurs."[16] Irony thus defined points to a certain vanity at the heart of human pretensions, an inherent discrepancy between aspiration and achievement. As such, it has been a central element in the Catholic world view at least since the time of St. Augustine in the early fifth century, whose *The City of God* posed a perpetual discrepancy between man's attempts to reconcile basic human conflicts in an earthly, secular political order (the City of Man), and the ultimate reconciliation in the divine order effected only by God and outside of time (the City of God). Thus, to a Catholic, all earthly human enterprises contain an inevitable and inherent irony, so as a lifelong Catholic and a priest, Dwyer came by his ironic perspective on history naturally.

That central element in Dwyer's thought, more than any other, put him at odds intellectually with Mormonism and gave him a fresh perspective on history hitherto unattained (and logically unattainable) by the Mormon world view that has dominated Utah historiography. Born in the optimistic climate of the Age of Jackson, early Mormonism shared with many other American ideas of the time the belief that basic social, economic, and political conflicts could be resolved by deliberate effort, by building a new social order from the ground up. Mormonism's idea of eternal progress manifests itself in the characteristic Mormon impulse to "build Zion"—that is, to create the very ideal political order in the present world which Augustine warned his readers was impossible. Thus, those incongruities between aspiration and achievement that the Catholic regards as inevitable ironies the Mormon treats as merely evidence of insufficient striving. As American history moved into the much less optimistic twentieth century, Mormons, like other Americans, came to a deeper appreciation for what Sir Isaiah

[15] Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Irony of American History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1962), *viii*.
[16] Paul M. Edwards, "The Irony of Mormon History," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 41 (Autumn 1973): 394.

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Father Robert J. Dwyer as a seminarian (standing right).

Berlin has called "the crooked timber of humanity" and thus the difficulties of immediate creation of a new social order.[17] Nevertheless, even though one can undoubtedly find ironic observations in Mormon writings and one Reorganized LDS historian could write an article on "The Irony of Mormon History," mainstream Mormon thought has retained its basically optimistic orientation.[18] Thus it is obvious that history interpreted from a Catholic perspective would be quite different from history interpreted from a Mormon point of view—a difference exemplified by Dwyer's work within the almost exclusively Mormon historiographical context of his day in which little irony had yet appeared.[19]

This is not to say that Dwyer's ironic viewpoint was inherently anti-Mormon. At the same time Dwyer could view the Mormons' Zion-building with bemused detachment, he could view the Gentiles' converse striving to frustrate Mormon ambition and even to destroy the church as equally futile. In the end, the Gentiles succeeded in their goal of forcing the Mormons to abandon theocracy and polygamy in order to achieve

[17] Sir Isaiah Berlin, *The Crooked Timber of Humanity* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991).

[18] Edwards, "The Irony of Mormon History." Edwards describes as irony the tension that exists when Mormon historical research does not seem to confirm Mormon doctrine. He himself professes to be able to live with that incongruity, which he does "not consider . . . to be negative or necessarily hopeless." Certain disgruntled Mormon scholars, on the other hand, appear to be arguing that the incongruity is not irony at all, but simple intellectual dishonesty. George D. Smith, ed., *Faithful History: Essays on Writing Mormon History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), which reprints Edwards's essay, explores the issue from many points of view.

[19] A case could be made for removal of the qualifier "almost," though space limitations preclude fully arguing the issue here. Hubert Howe Bancroft, for example, was not a Mormon, but his *History of Utah, 1540-1887* went to such pains to present the Mormon interpretation of their history that it establishes no critical distance from that interpretation. Among Dwyer's immediate successors, Bernard DeVoto's works ranged from comic attacks on Mormon foibles to admiring portrayals of Mormons' secular achievements—neither an ironic perspective. Dale Morgan and Fawn Brodie both grew up within the Mormon church and wrote about it on its own terms even when criticizing it sharply.

statehood, but Dwyer, who had grown up in post-theocratic, post-polygamous, post-territorial Utah, understood very well the degree to which church dominance in Utah had only been sublimated, not abolished. Thus, Dwyer's Augustinian sense of the ultimate failure of The City of Man tempered his treatment of both Mormon and Gentile with equal doses of irony.

Rather than the Mormon, in fact, it is the Gentile, "with all his failings, his arrogance and self-assurance," who perhaps draws Dwyer's sharpest barbs. The Rev. Norman McLeod, for example, a Congregationalist minister who arrived in Salt Lake City on January 18, 1865, as the first in a succession of Protestant missionaries determined to precipitate the downfall of the Mormon church, held a high conception of his importance: "a new day had dawned and McLeod, evidently, was not averse to fancy himself as the morning star." His results, however, fell short of his aspirations. Although the Gentile newspaper, the *Vedette*, reported that his preaching initially drew "flocks by hundreds to hear the arguments of Mr. McLeod, . . . as he hurls his thunderbolts." Dwyer notes that barely two months later, McLeod had left, "possibly feeling that he had overshot his bolt."[20]

Possibly the most entertaining clash between Mormon and Gentile polemicists, however, is Dwyer's account of the 1869 debates between Apostle Orson Pratt and his attacker, Methodist minister John Phillip Newman, over the issue of polygamy. Newman, who "proved neither a scripture scholar nor an apt debater, and [whose] anthropology was both strange and wonderful," lost badly to Pratt, "a clever, though equally shallow, polemist." Neither combatant, in the end, showed himself well. "The debate," Dwyer observes, "showed a tendency to wander off into Hebrew roots, about which it is extremely doubtful whether either contestant had more knowledge than he could bone up the night before."[21]

As one might expect in the light of Dwyer's Augustinian roots, those Gentile groups like the Protestant Episcopalians and the Catholics with modest expectations of their ability to save the world, "in which proselytism, though not foreign, was of less importance than the spiritual welfare of their own adherents," fare better in his narrative. Catholics, who "pursued a quiet course, and took but little part in the prevailing conflict," came out best. By choosing "to cultivate amicable relations with individual Mormons," Catholic Bishop Lawrence Scanlan elicited corresponding warm feelings from the Mormons, some of whom even in Dwyer's day still remembered "[Scanlan's] friendly spirit toward them during the periods of sharpest antagonism." Episcopal Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle followed a similar

[20] Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah*, 2nd ed., 248, 31, 33.
[21] *Ibid.*, 161-62; 162, n. 39.

course with presumably similar warm feelings from his Mormon neighbors, but he ran afoul of the fire-breathing anti-Mormons who expected a less accommodating stance from their fellow Protestant. His "comparative moderation was gall and wormwood to the Gentile extremists." It was obvious, Dwyer notes, that "it was no easy task for a missionary in Utah to save himself from falling between two stools."[22]

To Dwyer's mind, there was a deeper irony as well in the Mormon-Gentile conflict beyond the mere futility of zealot attempting to convert zealot. That irony was grounded in the historical fact that the Mormons and their Protestant opponents were grounded in exactly the same religious tradition. "By one of the strange anomalies of American religious history," Dwyer points out, "Mormonism, itself a by-product of the restless New England conscience, became the stumbling-block of offense to the conformist heirs of that tradition. Congregationalists, Methodists, and Presbyterians, together with other evangelical sects, came to regard Mormonism, and particularly its doctrine of polygamy, as a challenge both to American morality and to their missionary zeal."[23]

In 1945 Dwyer edited the journal of Capt. Albert Tracy (1858-60), an officer under Col. Albert Sidney Johnston during the so-called Utah War. World War II frugality necessitated that it be, with a brief obituary tribute to Herbert S. Auerbach, the entire contents of volume 13 (1945) of the *Utah Historical Quarterly*.[24] Having obviously undertaken the project with the primary goal of making available to Utah historians one of the best of all Utah War sources, Dwyer followed a relatively conservative editorial approach, mostly limiting his footnotes to elucidation of biographical and geographical details necessary to proper understanding of the text of the diary itself. In those notes, as in his dissertation, Dwyer exhibited a thorough mastery of Utah history. It would perhaps be unreasonable to expect his ironic interpretation to appear in a full-blown form in the limited scope of footnotes, but it does appear in a few instances as chiding of the soldiers' lurid conception of the magnitude of the Mormon evil they imagined they had been sent to suppress. Dwyer, here as elsewhere, was no particular friend of the Mormons, but in the interest of historical truth he felt compelled to seek some kind of reality principle between the pretensions of

[22] *Ibid.*, 151-59.

[23] *Ibid.*, 151.

[24] J. Cecil Alter and Rev. Dr. Robert J. Dwyer, eds., "The Utah War Journal of Albert Tracy, 1858-1860," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 13(1945): *ix-xii*; 1-119. The introduction indicates that Herbert S. Auerbach had acquired a photostatic copy of the diary from the New York Public Library and had begun to prepare it for publication at the time of his death on March 19, 1945, but that "final editing of the manuscript" was completed by Alter and Dwyer. One presumes that Alter's contribution was mostly in getting the manuscript through the printing process, for the prose of the footnotes is unmistakably Dwyer's.

the Mormons and those of the Gentiles, and on this occasion it happened to be a Gentile whose perceptions needed tempering.

An early example occurs in Tracy's entry for April 27, 1858, where he records riding into Camp Scott (near Ft. Bridger, where the army had spent the previous winter) in company with Federal Marshal Peter K. Dotson, who claimed to have ridden all night while being hotly pursued by a force of five hundred presumably bloodthirsty Mormons. Dwyer's comment: "At this point Dotson's imagination was working overtime."[25]

Another occurs in Tracy's entry for July 31, 1858, a ghastly incident in which he and several other soldiers were sitting in the moonlight at their encampment near Provo when a dog belonging to one of the soldiers brought in a woman's severed head. A doctor present diagnosed the cause of death as a slit throat, which Tracy speculates must have been vengeance wreaked on an unfaithful Mormon wife and asks, "How many of these canyons have echoed to the wild shriek of the miserable wretches, appealing in vain against the knife that set loose their blood in a torrent?" Dwyer observes that "Tracy, as is evident, was only too willing to allow his anti-Mormon prejudices to play tricks with his judgment," adding that "there is no real evidence" that the Mormon principle of "blood atonement" as punishment for marital or religious infidelity, to which Tracy ascribes this instance, "was ever carried to extremes, save by religious fanatics, for whom the official Church could hardly be held accountable."[26]

A final example of Dwyer's skepticism of Tracy's anti-Mormonism is Tracy's account of the infamous Parrish-Potter murders in Springville in 1857, in which two apostate Mormons were allegedly killed by avenging agents of the church who also accidentally killed the informer who betrayed them. Tracy claimed to have gotten the story from one of two unnamed Mormon women who shyly approached him one evening and even showed him the site of the deed. "How much of exaggeration there may have been in points of the woman's version, owing to whatever cause, it were of course, impossible to say, but the main facts of all she stated are unquestionably true," Tracy says. Dwyer was even skeptical of that: "Evidence satisfactory to Tracy in his state of mind would hardly prove

[25] *Ibid.*, 9, n. 26.

[26] *Ibid.*, 33, n. 67. More recent historians like D. Michael Quinn, David L. Bigler, and Will Bagley have taken stories of blood atonement more seriously than did Dwyer. See Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Extensions of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997); and Bigler, *Forgotten Kingdom: The Mormon Theocracy in the American West, 1847-1896* (Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1998); and Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002).

equally convincing to one less biased. It is odd that he does not furnish the names of these women."[27]

Dwyer's editing of the journal and biographical records of Lorenzo Dow Young in the 1946 volume of *Utah Historical Quarterly* shows him not only competent in Mormon history but generous, too, in his ready acknowledgment and even praise for the accomplishments of the Mormon pioneers.[28] As a historian, for example, Dwyer offered the highest praise for the Mormon penchant for diary keeping and other means of recording their history. If such documents "tell substantially the same story," he observed, "they tell it with an individual freshness and often with a wealth of particular detail which combine to make it one of the richest chapters in American frontier history." Later he refers respectfully to Brigham Young as "the great Mormon leader," and praises Lorenzo's wife Harriett Decker Young, who "takes her place with Narcissa Whitman and Tamsen Donner as a valiant woman of the early West."[29]

Dwyer was hardly even well into the introduction, though, when an oblique observation introduced a possible element of irony. Noting that in his composition of Young's biography, James A. Little "was less concerned with the minutiae of the historical record than with his obligation to preserve in his amber the essential spirit of a man whom he revered as a saint of the Restored Gospel," Dwyer offers the comment that "In itself, his attitude is of historical interest in our times when such faith is ofttimes supplanted by critical objectivity."[30] How are we to take this? A straightforward reading might be that Dwyer is saying that Little was writing hagiography—biography as an archetype of faith journey—an antiquated form of historiography in our scientific, critical era, but one with which

[27] "The Utah War Journal of Albert Tracy, 1858-1860," 46, n. 83. As a matter of fact, the Parrish-Potter murders are by far the best documented case of murder motivated by blood atonement. Judge John Cradlebaugh took nine affidavits of people involved. John Cradlebaugh, *Utah and the Mormons. Speech of Hon. John Cradlebaugh, of Nevada, on the Admission of Utah as a State* (Washington: L. Towers & Co., 1863), 43-61.

[28] This is not to say that Dwyer was in the least impressed with the Mormon religion itself, nor with what he saw as its lack of honesty in facing up to unsavory aspects of its history and its harsh way of dealing with those who did. Space limitations preclude telling the story fully here, but at the very same time he was writing favorably about Lorenzo Dow Young, he used his column in *The Intermountain Catholic Register* to chide the Mormon church for the "frank consternation" with which its leaders greeted the appearance of Fawn Brodie's biography of Joseph Smith in their speeches at the April conference and demanded of their followers a strict reaffirmation of faith in core Mormon dogmas. One of those dogmas was a belief in an anthropomorphic God, a belief Dwyer asserted "definitely places them outside the realm of rational inquiry and rests its case upon a philosophical impossibility." *The Register, Intermountain Catholic Edition*, April 21, 1946, pp. 11-12. The column provoked a lengthy rebuttal in the *Deseret News* and even a heated editorial rebuke in the Catholic-owned *Salt Lake Tribune*. Roman Catholic Bishop Duane G. Hunt deemed Dwyer to have become a controversial enough figure that he felt compelled to relieve him of his editorial post on the *Register*, though he was restored in 1950.

[29] Dwyer, "Introduction," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 14 (1946): 21.

[30] *Ibid.*, 22.

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Joel Ricks (left), president of Utah State Historical Society and Director A. Russell Mortensen (right) attends Father Robert J. Dwyer's (center) consecration as Bishop of Reno, August 5, 1951.

Catholic literature is replete from ancient times and for which Dwyer would have been expected to have some sympathy. On the other hand, Dwyer's literary subtlety might have contained a concealed rebuke to Mormon Zion-building: one cannot naively write history as the triumphant working out of eternal religious principles, for those principles are constantly being compromised or frustrated by the recalcitrant facts of reality—a reality discoverable only by exercise of "critical objectivity." Dwyer's true intention is perhaps undiscoverable, but there is no doubt that he was capable of meaning something quite different from what he was literally saying, and this may be an example of his damning Mormon historiography when he seemed to be praising it.

A somewhat more explicit irony emerges near the end of the introduction as Dwyer praises the "simple, artless record" Harriett Decker Young created in the journal she composed in Lorenzo's name. "Its importance lies not so much in its factual content," Dwyer asserts, "as in its evocation of the spirit of humble souls bent on fulfilling their concept of destiny."[31] Dwyer himself obviously did not share the Mormon concept of destiny, but even more than that, he disagreed that *any* earthly destiny unmodulated by a realization of the limited scope of human capacity is going to be fulfilled. His words must be read with that understanding in mind.[32]

The striving itself, though, regardless of its chances of success, was of

[31] *Ibid.*, 24.

[32] One person's irony can be another's idealism, depending in part upon how realizable one deems the stated aspiration to be. Dwyer, who considered the Mormon Zion an impossible goal, treated the failed efforts to achieve it as ironic. By contrast, Mormon writers Ronald W. Walker, David J. Whittaker, and James B. Allen, who view Mormon Zion-building without apparent skepticism, see no irony in the personal narratives of those engaged in it. "It would be a mistake to dismiss this early work out of hand," they warn. "Nineteenth-century biography made an important contribution by capturing the authentic spirit of the times. If a modern reader wishes to enter that first world of Mormon thought—and all its hopes, desires and dreams—nineteenth-century biography is one of the best places to start." *Mormon History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 117.

great interest to Dwyer, and the minutiae of the biography and daily journal entries elicited immense enthusiasm. Much of his editorial apparatus consists of the conventional geographical identifications and factual elaborations necessary to full understanding of the text. At other times, Dwyer's non-Mormon status prompts him to add perspective that both broadens and dilutes Little's relentlessly faith-promoting focus. Little's simple record of a pious Sunday observance on the overland trail on May 30, 1847, for example, said, "It was appointed a day of fasting and prayer. A prayer meeting in the morning was followed by preaching and exhortation in the afternoon." To this Dwyer added, based on William Clayton's journal, "In camp near Scott's Bluff, Saturday, May 29, President Brigham Young unleashed a vigorous attack on what he considered the growing laxity of the rank and file, the card-playing, the dancing, the unseemly quarreling. As reported by the faithful Clayton, the sermon was well calculated to induce the piety of Sunday, May 30."[33] Similarly, when Little notes that the Mormons received at Ft. Laramie the news of the death of their former persecutor, "the notorious Ex-Governor Boggs of Missouri," Dwyer notes, with supportive details, that "Lillburn W. Boggs, despite the obloquy attached to his name because of the famous 'extermination' order issued against the Mormons, seems to have been an able governor of Missouri."[34]

One can only imagine what the brother of Brigham Young would have thought of having a Catholic priest as editor of his biography and journal, but from the perspective of modern critical historiography, one would have to say that he was served rather well. The two men had little sympathy for each other's religious persuasion, but then Lorenzo Young's historical importance is not in the area of religion but rather western pioneering, and on that ground the two could come together. Dwyer clearly admired Young and the Mormon pioneer achievement that he represented. His annotations were intended to add perspective and clarity to Young's biography, even when he was adding details that diluted the solid piety of the text in the interest of skeptical modern readers.

Dwyer's output as a Utah historian diminished radically after 1952 when he left to become Bishop of Reno and eventually Archbishop of Portland, Oregon. At his farewell reception at the Kearns Mansion on August 10, though, he assured the guests that "I certainly am not going to say farewell or goodbye, for every once in a while I'll be coming back to see you." He kept his promise to return, both physically and intellectually, and contributed one publication in Utah history during each of his later

[33] "Biography of Lorenzo Dow Young," 86-87, n. 40.
[34] *Ibid.*, 87-88, n. 43.

ecclesiastical posts and one during his retirement.[35]

One of these, "The Irish in the Building of the Intermountain West," shows that he was no less ready to apply his vigorous sense of irony to Catholic history as to Mormon history. Noting, for example, the readiness with which Irish immigrants to America in the mid-nineteenth century heeded the recommendation of Archbishop John Hughes of New York that their best interest would be served by remaining in eastern cities where church care had already been provided instead of scattering along the western frontier to pursue their traditional agricultural livelihood, Dwyer slyly observes that they took to urban ways perhaps too well. "An agricultural people by immemorial tradition," he reminds us, "they proved a marvelous adaptability to the conditions of their new life; indeed, in the trying decades of the latter part of the century, and on into our own, they displayed an amazing and sometimes disturbing facility in political management, not to say manipulation."[36] Elsewhere, calling attention to the clannishness of the Irish, a quality that could keep them from appreciating even Catholic priests of other nationalities, even in Mormon country where all Catholics were hugely outnumbered and one might expect them to draw together, Dwyer notes the failure of a French priest, one Father Honore Bourion, in his Utah ministry. Sent to Utah from Denver by Bishop Joseph Machebeuf, under whose jurisdiction Utah then fell, Bourion soon resigned. "Father Bourion," Machebeuf wrote to his sister, "could not make a living among the Mormons, and has returned home." To this Dwyer slyly comments that "perhaps it would have been more accurate if he had said that the priest had failed to make a living among his Irish parishioners!"[37] The validity of Dwyer's observation is confirmed by the fact that Archbishop Joseph Sadoc Alemany of San Francisco, who succeeded Bishop Machebeuf in the Utah jurisdiction in 1871, and was not an Irishman either (he was Spanish), took care to send Irish priests to Utah whenever possible, including, of course, Father Lawrence Scanlan, who became the first Bishop of Salt Lake City.

If Father Dwyer's contribution to Utah history is not widely remembered, it is perhaps because his ecclesiastical vocation had to be his primary preoccupation. Although, as we have seen, his output was equal or even greater in quantity to that of many professional historians, history to him, in spite of his professional training, had to be an avocation. Also, because Dwyer had no graduate students and affiliated himself as a historian only

[35] "Historical Notes," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 20 (1952): 396; see the list of Dwyer's articles in n. 7 above.

[36] Dwyer, "The Irish in the Building of the Intermountain West," 223.

with the Utah State Historical Society, which is not primarily an educational institution, he had no historical catechumens to whom he could pass along his original interpretive insights. Finally, it seems at least possible that his status as a Catholic priest and eventually a church prelate may have compromised his potential as a role model to historians of other faiths or of no faith. Consequently, his writings are remembered with respect for their depth of research, but largely ignored for their historiographical significance. That seems a shame, for as this article has tried to show, Dwyer was, in the context of Utah historiography, an original thinker with a pregnant perspective that should be leading scholars in promising interpretive directions. "Dwyer has become the guideline to further research," Monsignor Jerome Stoffel wrote in 1968, referring to the still embryonic field of Utah Catholic history. Perhaps it is not too much to suggest that Dwyer's work could inspire more sophisticated interpretation across the entire spectrum of Utah historical writing.[38]

SALT LAKE CATHOLIC DIOCESE ARCHIVES

Robert J. Dwyer, Bishop of Reno, 1951.

[37] *Ibid.*, 230. An interesting sidelight in this passage is that Dwyer goes on to note that when Bishop Machebeuf was able to convince Archbishop Alemany of San Francisco to take over the Utah jurisdiction in 1871, "with an audible sigh of relief he wrote his sister again, 'At last I am disembarrassed of the Mormons.'" To this Dwyer, a native Utah Catholic and published authority on Mormon history, asks, "Could it be that he failed to appreciate them?" As we have seen, Dwyer had no use for Mormon theology, but his residence in Mormon country and his training as a historian had made him a vibrant admirer of the Mormons' historical achievement. In his "Pioneer Bishop: Lawrence Scanlan, 1843-1915," p. 144, incidentally, Dwyer gives the French text of Machebeuf's statement: "Je suis enfin desembarrasse des Mormonts." A better translation might be, "At last I have unburdened myself of the Mormons."

[38] Jerome Stoffel, "The Hesitant Beginnings of the Catholic Church in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 36 (Winter 1968): 43.

FROM *THE WOMEN OF MORMONISM*

Jennie Anderson Froiseth and the Blue Tea

By PATRICIA LYN SCOTT

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, hundreds of women's literary clubs were founded across the United States. These clubs provided a means "for women to promote sisterhood, confidence, and skills in speaking, researching, and writing."[1] In Utah, the club movement began modestly with a woman "who . . . missed some of the intellectual privileges she had enjoyed in her former home and invited a few friends whose tastes were similar to meet weekly in her parlor for the purpose of reading and discussing their favorite authors."[2] The Blue Tea was this first Utah women's literary club founded at the "the home of Mrs. B. A. M. Froiseth, located on Sixth South just west of Main Street."[3]

Jennie Anderson Froiseth was the founder or, as she was called, the "originator" of the Blue Tea. She was born December 6, 1849, in

Mrs. Jennie Anderson Froiseth, founding member of the Blue Tea Club.

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[1] Karen J. Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914* (New York: Holmes & Meier Pub., 1980), 59.

[2] C[ordelia] P[addock]. "The Blue Tea," *The Anti-Polygamy Standard*, April 1, 1880, 2.

[3] Ora Leigh Traugher, "Reawakened Memories in the Annals of Salt Lake Clubdom," *Deseret News*, April 24, 1926, clipping file, Salt Lake City Public Library.

Ballyshannon, Ireland, the daughter of Finley Anderson and Sarah Strong Anderson.[4] Ballyshannon was a market center and seaport located on the southeast corner of Donegal Bay in northern Ireland. In 1846 it recorded a population of 3,513.[5] Her father was a prominent merchant.[6] The Andersons immigrated to the United States in 1852. They sailed from Liverpool, England, aboard the American ship *Muscanomo* arriving in Philadelphia on October 5, 1852. By 1856 they had made their home in Brooklyn, New York.[7] From 1866 to 1869, Jennie's older brother, Colonel Finley Anderson, a well-known reporter and noted Civil War correspondent for the *New York Herald*, served as the newspaper's London correspondent.[8] Jennie and her mother accompanied him to England where they "entered the most exclusive literary and political circles." The Anderson's home was said to "be the center of literary and diplomatic circles" where the young woman met Charles Dickens, Robert Browning, and William Makepeace Thackeray.[9] While in Europe, Jennie attended convent schools in Paris, Florence, and Berlin.[10]

After returning to the United States, Jennie accompanied her brother Finley on special assignment to the West for the *New York Herald* in 1870. She reportedly "presided" over his household. In Utah they resided in Salt Lake City where she met Bernard Arnold Martin Froiseth, an army surveyor, stationed at Ft. Douglas and assigned to the Utah Territorial surveyor-general.[11] On June 8, 1871, they married at the Holy Trinity Church in

[4] Max Binheim, ed. *Women of the West: A Series of Biographical Sketches of Lives of Eminent Women in the Eleven Western States of the United States of America* (Los Angeles: Publishers Press, 1928), 174.

[5] Ballyshannon is from the Celtic, "Bel-atha-Seanigh" signifying the mouth of Shanah's Ford. *I. Slater's National Commercial Directory of Ireland; including an addition to the Traders' Lists* (London: I. Slater, 1846), 365-67; A.M. Sullivan *Atlas and History of Ireland* (New York: Murphy and McCarthy Publishers, 1898).

[6] In 1846, Finley was listed in a commercial directory as a baker, rope and twine maker, grocer, ironmonger and hardware man. *I. Slater's National Commercial Directory*, 366-67.

[7] Unlike many other ships, the *Muscanomo's* passenger list records only the name and age of each passenger. It lists: Sarah Anderson, 42; William, 18; Robert, 16; Findlay [sic], 14; Jennie, 12; Jane, 8; and John, 5. There appears to be an error in the listed ages. Finley Anderson did not emigrate with his family. This means either he traveled separately or he had died before their emigration. Sarah was listed as the widow of Finley when she was naturalized in 1866. U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, *Naturalization Records: New York City*. Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah, (hereafter FHL) Film #0,966,468; U.S. Bureau of Census, *Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving in Philadelphia, 1800-1882, with Index 1800-1906* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives & Records Service, 1963), FHL #0,419,469; Carl C. Cutler, *Queens of the Western Ocean: the Story of America's Mail and Passenger Sailing Lines* (Annapolis: U.S. Naval Institute, 1961), 405.

[8] Finley was captured by the Confederate Army at Vicksburg and imprisoned in Texas. He was later released and then wounded in 1864 at the Battle of Spotsylvania Court. In November 1864 he resigned his position and became an aide (with rank of Colonel) to Union General Winfield Scott Hancock. Mitchell P. Roth, *Historical Dictionary of War Journalism* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1997), 9-10; Bernard A. Wiesburger, *Reporters of the Union* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1953), 126-27, 132-33, 288; Lola Van Wagenen, "Sister-Wives and Suffragists: Polygamy and Politics of Women, 1870-1896," (Ph.D., diss., New York University, 1994), 256.

[9] Traugher, "Reawakened Memories."

[10] Jennie was reported to have been courted by her brother's colleague, the explorer-correspondent Henry Morton Stanley, and to have been presented before the Court at St. James. Lola Van Wagenen. "Sister-Wives and Suffragists," 256, 292.

[11] Ibid, 156. The 1870 Census listed: Bernard (32) as a draftsman; Finley Anderson (25 - actually 40) as a

Brooklyn, New York.[12] Bernard was born July 10, 1839, in Throndjim, Norway, and three years later emigrated with his family to the United States where they settled in Minnesota.[13] He was educated at the University of Montreal and received a degree in civil engineering. Commissioned as a colonel during the Civil War, he was assigned special duty in Washington, D.C. After the war he was transferred to Salt Lake City in 1869.[14]

The newlyweds settled in the Utah Territory and soon became active in the social life of the non-Mormon community. They later became the parents of six children (five survived to adulthood).[15] By 1880 Bernard had left the Army and established a real estate and map-publishing business.

Jennie lamented her lonely life in Utah and hungered for culture. Because polygamy created a barrier between Mormon and non-Mormon women, these newcomers sought out each other. She later recalled:

> Some of us who had come to the new country from the large eastern cities, and who had also experienced the advantage of foreign travel and life found that we were constantly missing and longing for things for which even the hopes of speedy fortunes out of those vast mountains could offer no compensation.[16]

During a visit to her family and friends in New York City in the summer of 1875, Jennie was invited by her sister, Jane**,** to attend the Sorosis women's club, a distinguished women's organization founded in New York in 1868. Jennie was apparently influenced by the women whom she met and the club's intellectual activities. On another occasion she discussed with her friend Julia Ward Howe, a poet, author, women's club and suffrage leader, her life in the Far West as an "exile" and the missing of "companionships of her friends in social life as well as intellectual associations and activities.[17]

Mrs. Howe empathized with her and after one of their conversations advised her not to be "discouraged and dissatisfied, all life has great

correspondent; and Jennie (20) as keeping house. An 1870 *Deseret News* article concerning the completion of the Utah Central Railroad listed "Col. F. Anderson" as covering the event for the *New York Herald* . "Last Rail of the U.C.R.R.," in Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, January 10, 1870, 1.

[12] Brooklyn, New York, Board of Health. "Marriage Certificates, 1866-1987 – Certificate Number 995," FHL Film #1543858.

[13] "Utah Death Certificates, 1905-1950 - Certificate # 1550." Utah Death Certificates, 1905-1951, Salt Lake City, Utah State Archives.

[14] "First Utah Map Maker is Dead," *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 5, 1922.

[15] The 1900 Census listed Ethylene R. (1876), Bernard Jr. (1879), Rafael (1885), Richard (1888), Dorothy (1890), and Robert (1892), U.S. Census Bureau, 1900 Census Soundex – Utah, FHL # 129,019. The Froiseths had a stillborn child (unnamed) on June 7, 1877, Mt. Olivet Cemetery Book of the Dead, FHL Film #1,064,481.

[16] "Literary Club Listens to Interesting Reminiscences," unidentified newspaper clipping [ca.1915], Ladies Literary Club Birthday Breakfast Scrapbook, 1910-1950. Salt Lake City, Utah: Ladies Literary Club of Salt Lake City. The scrapbook is at the Ladies Literary Club House.

[17] Julia Ward Howe (1819-1910) was a poet, author, and a woman's club and suffrage leader. She is best known for her "Battle Hymn of the Republic." For biographies of Julia Ward Howe see Deborah Pickman Clifford, *Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory: A Biography of Julia Ward Howe* (Boston: Little Brown, 1979); and Gary Williams, *Hungry Heart: the Literary Emergence of Julia Ward Howe* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999).

possibilities; you women must make conditions for yourself. Gather the friends together who think as you do and form a literary society, even though it be only a small reading club." Later, Howe provided a name for the proposed group at a tea she hosted for some of America's leading literary figures. Poet Oliver Wendell Holmes glanced at the guests, noted few men in attendance and remarked, "Well, Julia, you have a regular Blue-stocking gathering." Quickly, Julia responded: "No Oliver, it is a blue tea." She then urged Jennie to organize a literary club in Salt Lake City. She continued, "Now even before its birth, I will christen it for you, and name it the Blue Tea."[18]

Jennie returned to Salt Lake City and gathered many of her friends together and "laid the proposition before them." She recalled their response was, "instantaneous and enthusiastic." From such threads, a small group of women met at Jennie's home, the picturesque Rose Cottage on 600 South just west of Main Street and formed the Blue Tea in 1875, Utah's first women's club.[19] Jennie later described the club's first year:

> the first season there was no attempt at formal organization, no officers excepting a chairman and programme committee, and at all meetings a social cup of tea was served in honor of the name. But we did good work, had some fine programmes, necessitating not a little reading and study, and the meetings went so well that there was rarely a vacant chair.[20]

The story of the Blue Tea has largely been forgotten. Its story is recorded in a small leather volume titled "The Minutes of the Blue Tea" preserved in the Special Collections at the Marriott Library, University of Utah. These 147 pages record the minutes of the meetings between September 14, 1876, and May 2, 1883, and include various other club documents. The minutes are short and concise, usually two or three meetings per page. They are largely devoted to detailing research topics. The minutes rarely describe the numbers of members in attendance. Their legibility varies according to the secretary.

No records appear to have survived before the September 14, 1876, meeting. The first minutes alluded to its early disorganization noting that the "Blue Tea was [being] re-inaugurated." The September 14th meeting was held at Jennie's home and the minutes proclaim "permanent organization being resolved . . . the best means of stimulating individual effort." The society's major organizational business was the election of officers and the appointment of a committee to draw up a constitution. Newly elected officers were Jennie as president, Eliza Kirtley Royle as vice-president, Mary C. Beatty as secretary, and Marian Chislett as treasurer. The constitution

[18] "Literary Club Listens to Interesting Reminiscences." Bluestocking referred to any of a group of women who in mid-18th-century England held "conventions" to which they invited men of literary interests. It came to be derisively applied to a woman who affects literary or learned interests

[19] Traugher, "Reawakened Memories."

[20] "Literary Club Listens to Interesting Reminiscences."

committee consisted of Nellie Putnam, Mary Beatty, and Georgia Snow, Utah's second female attorney.[21]

The Society's next two meetings were also largely devoted to organizational purposes. On September 21 the new constitution and bylaws were read and adopted unanimously. The constitution identified the name of the organization as the "Blue Tea" and its "purpose was to organize exclusively for women . . . to promote mental culture." Its membership was to be limited to twenty-five and prescribed weekly meetings be held each Thursday afternoon for three hours starting promptly at 2:00 p.m. Jennie explained later that the membership was restricted solely because, "we were meeting in private parlors; there had not been any thought of a public meeting or a clubhouse."[22] The constitution provided that an appointed three-member committee would select discussion topics. A majority vote allowed a topic to be continued for an additional week.[23]

The September 28 meeting continued the organizational process. The secretary was authorized to purchase a minute book to "preserve the history of the society from its inception." Jennie was recognized as the society's "originator" and was chosen the "Blue Tea Chronicler." She was asked to provide a sketch of the society's founding to the secretary for "its transcription to serve as an introduction to the year's records." This historical sketch does not appear to have survived. Unfortunately, an examination of the minute book shows that the first four pages have been removed.[24]

At the October 5 meeting, Jennie read a pledge for the consideration of the society. It was unanimously adopted and moved that the pledge be added to the minute book and the signatures of each member of the society be affixed. The pledge stated: "We, the members of the Blue Tea, holding organization to be the best means of affecting literary research, so pledge ourselves to the adherence of such method of labor as shall be defined with our constitution."[25] It became policy that all new members would pledge and sign the constitution. The constitution bears the signatures of seventy-nine women who signed the document during the club's existence. Unfortunately, the signatures do not indicate when each member signed.

An analysis of the membership list identified 73 percent of the women. Two of the earliest members were the wives of the Territorial Governor and a Territorial Supreme Court justice (Maria Emery and Kate McKean). Other members of the Blue Tea were wives of prominent businessmen

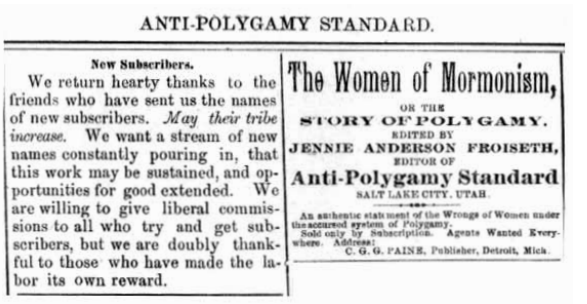
[21] Blue Tea minutes, September 14, 1876, 14.

[22] "Literary Club Listens to Interesting Reminiscences."

[23] Blue Tea Minutes, September 21, 1876, 14.

[24] Undoubtedly, the minute book became Jennie's property after the club's demise. It eventually became the property of the Ladies Literary Club and was transferred to the University of Utah Special Collections in 1952. It is impossible to know when the pages were removed, but it can be assumed they were removed prior to the book being presented to the Ladies Literary Club. Jennie or her daughters probably decided to retain the history since it was Jennie's story.

[25] Blue Tea Minutes, September 28, 1878, 15.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(Sarah Kahn and Marian Chislett), attorneys (Eliza Kirtley Royle and Charlotte Gilchrist), editors (Mary N. Hamilton), physicians (Cordelia A. Smith), government officials (Harriet Bane and Carrie Hollister), army officers (August Dewey), mining operators (Ellen Goodspeed), merchants (Mary A. Rivers and Margaret Miles), tradesmen (L. C. Pierce and Selena Boukofsky), and a few were single professional women (Georgia Snow and Mary M. Barker) and businesswomen (Julia A. Kimball). More than 60 percent of members were under the age of forty. Five members were under the age of twenty. Most were married and had small children. Others were widowed. For the most part they were prominent in the community and their churches. They were Presbyterians, Methodists, Unitarians, Congregationalists, Jews, and former Mormons. No active Mormons were allowed to be a member; the practice of polygamy was too great a barrier.

Meetings were held at members' homes and rotated weekly. Typical meetings consisted of the president presiding, the minutes being read and approved, and then turning to the subjects to be discussed. Between five and six women would read articles or present research reports on various aspects of the selected topic. Other members would formulate questions to stimulate discussions. The society devoted one of its early meetings to the study of London and its history, the English parliament and banking system, the architecture of the Tower of London and Westminster Abbey, the royal family, museums, gardens, and churches.[26] When illness prevented Jennie's attendance during the late fall and winter of 1876, vice-president Eliza Kirtley Royle presided. Mrs. Royle, wife of attorney Johnathon C. Royle, was born and raised in Missouri where her father was a state senator. The Royles had settled in Salt Lake City in 1871 the same year Jennie arrived.[27]

The minutes abruptly end on December 6, 1876, and without explanation begin again on February 22, 1877. A careful examination of the book reveals that seven sheets have been removed. The minutes of at least nine

[26] Blue Tea Minutes, October 12, 1876, 16. Allyson Rich Jackson, "Development of the Woman's Club Movement in Utah During the Nineteenth Century," (Brigham Young University, University Honors Program, 1992), 16-17. Copy located at the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

[27] See Patricia Lyn Scott, "Eliza Kirtley Royle: 'Beloved Club Mother," in *Worth Their Salt: Notable But Often Unnoted Women of Utah*, ed. Colleen Whitley (Logan: Utah State University, 1996), 44-59. The nature of Jennie's illness is unknown but she was pregnant and delivered a stillborn child in June 1877. Mt. Olivet Cemetery Book of the Dead, FHL Film#1,064,481.

meetings are missing.[28] The February minutes begin in the midst of a growing schism. Some members believed that a "nonexclusive women's club was needed in Salt Lake City, not only for the literary elite, but also for women who were just learners."[29] Three Blue Tea members and a few friends met at the home of Mrs. Tina R. Jones and organized the Ladies Literary Club for the purpose of "literary pursuits and mental culture." Eliza Kirtley Royle was elected its first president and its first plank was said to be the "open door." Mrs. Royle later explained what she meant by "open door." "Very soon the few who were determined that a club should stand for the education of the many rather than culture for a few, seceded from the original society."[30]

The split in the Blue Tea club was apparent on March 1 with the resignation of three of its members including Georgia Snow, co-author of the Blue Tea's constitution. Mrs. Royle had stopped attending meetings in mid-February. On March 29, 1877, members of Blue Tea discussed her six-week's absence and authorized the secretary to write and inquire "if she intended on resuming her duties."[31] There is no evidence that Royle did respond nor were the names of any other absent members discussed.

Finally, on April 19, members of the Blue Tea met at Jennie's home to discuss the growing rift within the organization. A motion was adopted that: "the ladies one and all who took part in the 'secession' and have not been present at our meetings for more than two months, be expelled from membership. The following names were [then] stricken: E[liza] K. Royle, H[enrietta] Billing, C[atherine] F. Robertson, G[eorgia] Snow, M. H. Hemingway, S[arah] Gamble, and Mary M. Barker."[32] The secretary was authorized at the next meeting to notify members of their expulsion. It was also "decided but with regret [to adjourn] until the first Thursday in September 1877."[33] This adjournment was a month earlier than normal for the usual summer recess.

Years later, in 1915 Jennie spoke to the Ladies Literary Club where she explained what happened in the Blue Tea. "Toward the end of the second year a number of members thought there was now a greater field of activity and as the majority did not care to remove the limitation the Ladies Literary Club was formed."[34] The split seemed based solely on

[28] The specific reasons for the pages' removal cannot be determined. It can be assumed Jennie or her daughters removed these pages to protect someone. The pages may have included unfavorable comments concerning Eliza Kirtley Royle, the Blue Tea's vice-president and the "Club Mother" of the Ladies Literary Club.

[29] Katherine Barrette Parsons, *History of Fifty Years: Ladies Literary Club, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1877-1927* (Salt Lake City: Arrow Press, Inc., 1927), 24.

[30] Ibid., 23; Scott, "Eliza Kirtley Royle," 50.

[31] Blue Tea Minutes, March 29, 1877, 29.

[32] Ibid, April 19, 1877, 30. The minutes illustrate this action with a membership list showing a line drawn through these names.

[33] Ibid, September 20, 1877, 31.

[34] "Literary Club Listens to Interesting Reminiscences."

differing visions of the future. Blue Tea members who left wanted more members, greater participation, and more activities. They no longer wanted to be members of a limited and restricted club.

The Blue Tea remained an exclusive club limited to twenty-five members devoted solely to reading and study. Contrary to Jennie's assertion that, "the number [of members] was always complete with a long waiting list, the schism almost killed the Blue Tea.[35] However, a new season began on September 20th. There is no indication of how many were in attendance at the September meeting, but those in attendance decided "for various reasons to adjourn for a period." The apparent hiatus of meetings was called a "time of re-assessing to be governed by circumstances." However, Jennie was empowered to call "a meeting for reorganization at any such time as might be convenient."[36] The next recorded meeting was held on January 30, 1878. The minutes alluded to prior reorganization meetings but no minutes were recorded. The election of new officers was the first item of business. Jennie was re-elected president, with Mrs. L. C. Pierce as vice-president, and Mrs. Selena Boukofsky as secretary-treasurer. The regular meeting day was also changed to Wednesdays at 2:00 p.m. It is not known how many members were involved in the reorganization, but during the next three weeks five new members were accepted.[37]

During the winter and spring meetings, discussions continued on England, including extensive discussions of the works of British historian and essayist, Thomas Babington Macaulay. The Blue Tea seemed to be again on firm footing. On June 5 the society met and elected officers for the new season starting in September. These new officers were Sarah Ann Cooke, president; Mrs. Marianne Chislett, vice-president; and Mrs. Selena Boukofsky, secretary-treasurer. A widow, Mrs. Cooke was a pioneer music teacher who had arrived in Utah in 1852. A former Mormon convert, she had left the church because of her opposition to polygamy and a personal land dispute with Brigham Young.[38] For the first time since the Blue Tea's creation in 1875 Jennie was not an officer.

The new season began on September 25, 1878. United States history was selected as the general discussion topic for the year with John Clark Ridpath's *History of the United States* (1874) as the text. The society's initial intensity seemed to soften somewhat and attempts were made to make the program more interesting. In September 1878 Fanny Cole moved and it was approved that the "monotony of historical readings be relieved by exercises in literature and music which [would] be as instructive [and] would [be] definitely more entertaining." Members of the Blue Tea voted

[35] Ibid.

[36] Blue Tea Minutes, September 20, 1877, 31

[37] Ibid., January 30, 1878, 32-33.

[38] See Patricia Lyn Scott, "Sarah Ann Sutton Cooke: 'The Respected Mrs. Cooke,'" in *Worth Their Salt, Too: More Notable But Often Unnoted Women of Utah*, ed. Colleen Whitley (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2000), 1-27.

on October l to intersperse the subjects of art and culture with the historical readings. Beginning at its October 22 meeting, the length of the society's meetings was shortened by moving the adjournment time from 5:00 p.m. to 4:30 p.m. These types of changes continued until some members believed meeting content became less substantive and challenging and more entertainment. On February 9, 1881, concerned members reacted by approving the formation of an entertainment committee and insisting that "the society adhere strictly to the program with the exception of an occasional musical selection."[39]

The Blue Tea was solely a study/cultural society and rarely were other issues discussed and no civic projects were undertaken. The death of Judge James McKean, a well-known anti-polygamist, in January 1879 is a case in point. On January 15, 1879, Jennie discussed the possibility of constructing a memorial in his name and invited members to a meeting at her house. She suggested that the society provide entertainment to raise money for the McKean Memorial. A committee of five was selected to handle the matter; but like so many other issues, the minutes never mentioned the matter again.[40]

In another example Jennie suggested on January 29 that an elocution class be formed. A committee of two (Jennie and Marianne Chislett) was authorized to make an inquiry into the price of tuition. A week later, Jennie reported that the committee had set up a class of twelve at the Salt Lake Academy with a Mr. Riggs. It is not known whether Jennie was able to find twelve interested women or whether the class had to be canceled. The minutes never mentioned the class again.[41]

The Blue Tea Society fostered a strong bond among its members that created a true sisterhood. The minutes of the Society contain numerous examples attesting to this fact. Individual members hosted regular meetings on their birthdays and anniversaries to allow members to be included in the special celebrations. Each of these sessions included entertainment and refreshments. The deaths of members Fanny Cole on January 7, 1881, and Lizzie Smedley in November 1881 caused an outpouring of grief in the writing and presentations of heartfelt, consoling resolutions to their respective families. Widower Frank Cole's moving response was recorded in the minutes. He recalled the society meeting frequently at his "once happy home [and the] pleasant faces and generous hearts" of its members.[42] One

[39] Blue Tea Minutes, February 9, 1881, 96.

[40] Ibid., January 15, 1879, 49. The memorial was constructed in 1881 — a large twenty-foot-high granite obelisk in the Mt. Olivet Cemetery. No list of contributors has been found, but presumably they were non-Mormon citizens of Utah. The monument was to be a "tribute of reverence and affection from the citizens of Utah to the memory of Judge McKean and his lovely wife." "The McKean Monument," *Anti-Polygamy Standard*, June 1882, 21.

[41] Ibid., January 29, 1879, 49, and February 5, 1879, 50.

[42] Ibid., February 23, 1881, 96. In fact, the Blue Tea met last at the Cole home on December 15, 1880, less than three weeks before Fanny's death. She died just five days after the birth of her first child. Jennie served on both committees that produced the condolence resolutions.

special party honored Sarah Ann Cooke at the end of her presidential term. On May 28, 1879, the Blue Tea held a special meeting "designed both as a compliment and a surprise" for their "beloved President Mrs. Cooke" at the home of Harriet Bane. A large number of members and a few visitors were in attendance and spent a delightful afternoon with musical and poetical entertainment. Jennie delivered an "impressive" impromptu address and presented Sarah with a gift as "a testimonial of appreciation and affection from the ladies." Sarah was said to have been overcome with emotion but soon recovered her "customary equanimity." By request she recited a thirty-three stanza poem of her own composition.[43]

Historian Karen Blair observed that women's literary societies advanced "confidence and skills" in their members and that a "new sense of worth enabled some members to move on to more political activity."[44] This was definitely true of the Blue Tea. Historian Lola Van Wagenen noted that the relationships developed in the Blue Tea, "helped provide an organizational basis for the anti-polygamy movement."[45] Roused by the Carrie Owen case, Jennie and other members of the Blue Tea assisted in the organization of a rally at the Independence Hall in Salt Lake City on November 7, 1878, attended by more than two hundred anti-polygamy women.[46] The previous day Jennie, Sarah Ann Cooke, and Harriet Bane had been excused from the regular Blue Tea meeting because of important, "outside business."[47] Jennie later wrote that the purpose of the meeting was to "give expression to the sentiments of non-Mormons" and to "invoke special legislation from the next Congress to compel a cessation of plural marriages among the Mormon people."[48]

An organizing meeting was held immediately after the rally to create the Anti-Polygamy Society. Jennie wrote that the women who organized "the Anti-Polygamy Society are determined to persevere and keep this subject in agitation until it, like the other twin relic of barbarism should no longer be a foul blot on our escutcheon as a nation."[49]

[43] Ibid., May 28, 1879, 57-64.

[44] Blair, *Clubwoman as Feminist*, 58.

[45] Van Wagenen, "Sister-Wives," 254.

[46] Miss Carrie Owen, a young Mormon convert, became engaged to John Miles a young missionary in England and emigrated to Utah to be married. After their arrival in Utah, she was informed he was engaged to two other women and intended to marry all three on the same day. While averse to polygamy, she consented to marry on the condition she become the first wife. At the wedding feast on October 24, 1874, she learned she was not. Regretting her decision, she recounted her tale to numerous non-Mormon women and soon her case became a cause celèbre. While accounts differ dramatically, all observers agree that she was used to escalate anti-polygamy efforts. Orson F. Whitney called the case, "the beginning of the anti-polygamy movement." Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon, 1892-1904), 3:60.

[47] Blue Tea Minutes, November 6, 1878, 45.

[48] Jennie Anderson Froiseth, "The Work and Influence of the Woman's National Anti-Polygamy Society," *Handbook on Mormonism* (Salt Lake City, Chicago, and Cincinnati: Hand-Book Publishing Co., 1882), 66.

[49] "The Ladies Anti-Polygamy Society of Utah Article – I," *Anti-Polygamy Standard*, April 1880, 1.

COURTESY: KATHRYN W. FROISETH

Jennie Anderson Froiseth in 1926.

The Anti-Polygamy Society's first official meeting was held on November 12, 1878. One hundred women (and a few men) attended. Sarah Ann Cooke was elected the society's first president with Jennie Anderson Froiseth as vice-president.[50] The society's stated purpose was "not . . . to wage war against any party, sect, or person, but . . . to fight to the death that system which so enslaves and degrades our sex, and which robs them of so much happiness."[51] It must be understood that the minutes of the Blue Tea never documented any discussions on polygamy; only the assigned study topics were recorded. Jennie's involvement in the anti-polygamy movement did not initially reduce her activity in the Blue Tea. She continued to attend regular meetings and actively participated in club programs by presenting readings and recitations.

The Blue Tea's fifth year began September 3, 1879, with the election and installation of new officers. Blue Tea member and anti-polygamy lecturer, Cornelia Paddock, gave an inaugural address. As organizer and former president of the Blue Tea Society, Jennie was presented an elegant edition of Macaulay's *Essays and Poems* as a "token of respect and esteem of members."[52] The meeting was concluded with entertainment and refreshments. The society adjourned with regular meetings scheduled to begin on October 1.

In April 1880 Jennie became the driving force behind a newspaper, the *Anti-Polygamy Standard*, which functioned as the official organ of the Anti-Polygamy Society. It was an eight-page monthly with an annual subscription price of one dollar. Each issue of the *Standard* carried as its motto the biblical verse "Let every man have his own wife, and let every

[50] *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 13, 1878. See also my article, "Sarah Ann Sutton Cooke: 'The Respected Mrs. Cooke,'" 1-27.

[51] "Our Policy," *Anti-Polygamy Standard* (April 1880), 4.

[52] Ibid., September 3, 1879, 64.

woman have her own husband" (1Corinthians 7:2) and a call to action to the "Women of America" written by Harriet Beecher Stowe: "Let every happy wife and mother who reads these lines give her sympathy, prayers and effect to free her sisters from this degrading bondage [of polygamy]. Let the womanhood of the country stand united for them. These are a power combined enlightened sentiment and sympathy, before which every form of injustice and cruelty must finally go down."[53]

The *Standard* published articles on the Anti-Polygamy Society's history, activities, and members, including numerous exposés of polygamy such as "How Wives Are Coerced into Giving Consent for their Husbands to Enter Polygamy." The newspaper also devoted considerable space to the missionary and education efforts of various Protestant churches in Utah, and advice for homemakers. Two articles discussed the activities of the Blue Tea.[54]

In the fall of 1880, Jennie began touring and lecturing among the "influential" churches in New York and New England. She endeavored to "strengthen the anti-polygamy sentiment," to form branches of the National Anti-Polygamy Society, and sell subscriptions to the *Anti-Polygamy Standard*. Speaking for Utah's anti-polygamy women, she said: "Our only hope is from outside. What is demanded is a public sentiment to spur Congressmen . . . and woman can create it." Her familiarity with New York newspaper circles guaranteed wide coverage of her tour. The *New York Sun* reported her lectures in the New York City area, described her visits to Mormon homes, and quoted her saying, "I saw and heard enough in my visits to assure me that there is not a happy Mormon household in Utah."[55] The *Salt Lake Herald*, a vocal Mormon newspaper, associated Jennie's campaign with radical women, described the *Sun*'s article, and harshly criticized her performance. Its editor proclaimed, "It is more astonishing that any person would be found to believe it," adding, "we view with sorrow the spectacle of a woman from Utah, placing herself before the public with such stories."[56]

Another project realized by Jennie was the publication in 1882 of her book, *Women of Mormonism*. It reprinted articles from the *Anti-Polygamy Standard* reporting the "inside facts" about polygamy as they came from the mouths of victims noting, "these recitals, told in the powerful language of the heart, were deemed worthy of a much larger circle of readers." Frances Willard, president of the National Temperance Union, wrote an introduc-

[53] The quotation was taken from Stowe's introduction to Mrs. T. B. H. Stenhouse, *Tell It All: The Tyranny of Mormonism; or, an Englishwoman in Utah*, (1880; reprint, New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971) vi. See the front page of each *Anti-Polygamy Standard* front page starting April 1880.

[54] Sherilyn Cox Bennion, *Equal to the Occasion: Women Editors of the Nineteenth Century West* (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1990.) 45; Sherilyn Cox Bennion, "Sisters under the Skin: Utah's Mormon and Non-Mormon Women and Their Publications," *Brigham Young University Studies* 33 (1/1993): 112-19.

[55] "A Female Anti-Mormon Missionary," Journal History, November 10, 1880, 2.

[56] Ibid.

tion, stating she had "read its pages with thoughts too deep for tears. Some sulphur-shrouded planet may have a vocabulary fiendish enough to fitly characterize what they reveal . . . . English is only the vocabulary of a prating parrot in the presence of such pathos and such woe."[57] It sold thousands of copies and was reprinted in 1884 and 1886.[58]

As Jennie's commitments grew, it became more difficult for her to attend and participate in the Blue Tea. Her attendance became sporadic in 1882 and stopped in the late fall. Ultimately, the society recognized her difficulty in attending and, realizing that their constitutional provision required the exclusion of members missing four consecutive meetings, made Jennie an honorary member. On November 1, Jennie invited the Blue Tea to meet at her home on the second Wednesday in December to celebrate the society's seventh anniversary and proposed that the "programme be the same as the first." The society accepted the invitation, but the special meeting was canceled when Jennie was unable to participate and a regular meeting was then held.[59]

Beginning in 1881 attendees were regularly listed and ranged from nine to twenty, the average being fifteen. In 1882 the tone of the meetings changed and programs seemed less organized. More resignations occurred, including the society's president, and numerous discussions centered on members' absences. In December a 50-cent fine was assessed to members who failed to notify the program chair that they had been unable to prepare program assignments. Only once after December 1882 did attendance exceed ten members and only two new members were accepted after January 1883. It appeared that the society had lost its steam. On May 2, 1883, only seven were in attendance and the president Harriet Bane announced she "desir[ed] a full attendance at the next meeting [and] requested those present to notify others of the elections of officers to be held at the next meeting."[60] This was the last entry recorded in the Blue Tea minute book.

By 1883 Utah was no longer as remote as it seemed in 1875 and more opportunities were available to women. In 1915 Jennie simply described the Blue Tea as recognizing "the larger scope of the [Ladies] Literary Club, discontinued the organization."[61] The Blue Tea could no longer compete as an exclusive women's club devoted solely to study and self-improvement when other organizations offered greater opportunities. Within two years

[57] Jennie Anderson Froiseth, *The Women of Mormonism, or the Story of Polygamy* (Detroit: C.G.G. Paine, 1882), xxvii, v.

[58] Haywood, "Utah's Anti-Polygamy Society," 84.

[59] Because Jennie was so active previously in meetings' programs, it is relatively easy to identify when she was not in attendance. No special mention was made of her absence. Jennie's invitation was accepted on November 1, 1882. A regular meeting was held on the scheduled date, December 13, 1882, at the home of Mrs. Julia Kimball. A note from Jennie was read expressing her "regret being unable to host the society on the anniversary of the Blue Tea." See Blue Tea Minutes, December 13, 1882, 135-39.

[60] Blue Tea Minutes, May 2, 1883, 147.

[61] "Literary Club Listens to Interesting Reminiscences."

COURTESY RICHARD W. FROISETH

The Froiseth family and neighbor children in front of the Rose cottage. Spring 1887.

of its founding, the Ladies Literary Club became more than just a study club and adopted service as a major activity and began working to establish a public library in Salt Lake City. After 125 years, the Ladies Literary Club continues today in its philanthropic efforts.

About 20 percent of all Blue Tea members joined the Ladies Literary Club, but Jennie never did.[62] Her two daughters, Ethylene Perkins and Dorothy Bracken, were lifelong members (Ethylene joined in 1914 and Dorothy in 1922) and both served as presidents of the Ladies Literary Club. In 1927 Jennie was made an honorary member of the Ladies Literary Club in recognition of her contributions to the women's club movement in Utah. While the Blue Tea is forgotten in history, its name is kept alive through an annual event of the Ladies Literary Club. Today, the Blue Tea is an actual formal tea held each spring.

Undoubtedly, Jennie regretted the loss of her creation, but she was far too busy and had moved beyond the Blue Tea Society. Her primary concern was for the newspaper. The *Anti-Polygamy Standard* had not been a financial success. The February-March 1883 issue was the newspaper's last. Jennie editorialized about plans for an enlarged and improved fourth volume but admitted that the *Standard* had been "struggling against fearful odds, right in the midst of the enemy's camp." She closed her column with an invitation for "every subscriber to renew at once, if possible to send other names with their own assuring them that no efforts [would] be spared to make the

[62] Because the Blue Tea membership list is undated and the Ladies Literary Club's lists exist only after 1879, it is impossible to know when members actually joined the Ladies Literary Club.

paper worthy of their patronage and to honor the cause it represents."[63] However, the *Anti-Polygamy Standard* died without a whimper or explanation. It can only be assumed that subscriptions were insufficient to finance its continued publication. In 1887 the Edmunds-Tucker Act passed and the already faltering Salt Lake City Ladies Anti-Polygamy Society slipped out of existence. The Anti-Polygamy Society of "outraged womanhood" had been eclipsed by the strong actions of federal law and they were no longer needed.[64] Historian Joan Iversen concluded that "the antipolygamy movement had expanded beyond the hopes of its founder. It had diffused throughout the country, carried by church-affiliated home mission societies and temperance chapters."[65] After the success of the anti-polygamy crusade Jennie continued her work through suffrage organizations and the American Association of University Women.

She believed strongly in woman's suffrage and was a member of the women's National Women's Suffrage Association. She served as Utah Women's Suffrage Association vice-president in 1888. While many national suffrage leaders were steadfast in opposing the removal of suffrage from Mormon women, Jennie was unyielding in her convictions. She opposed suffrage for Mormon women until polygamy was outlawed.

Alice Stone Blackwell, a leading suffragist and editor of the *Woman's Journal*, visited Utah in 1883 and met with both Mormon and non-Mormon women. She interviewed Jennie and other anti-polygamist leaders who firmly expressed their views. Jennie contended that Utah's suffrage laws discriminated against men because "a man must be a tax-payer [while] . . . a woman" did not and "a woman can be naturalized by marriage before she has lived in the Territory long enough in the usual way." She and her associates also contended that young girls were allowed to vote ("every chick and child they had") to further swell the Mormon vote.[66] While Blackwell's article in the *Woman's Journal* challenged many of the anti-polygamist's views, she admitted that she was ill prepared to debate those issues. Jennie likewise admitted that while Blackwell's arguments placed her in a difficult position she remained unmoved from her view that Mormon women should not be allowed to vote.[67]

Jennie's interest in the women's club movement did not end with the demise of the Blue Tea nor her crusading spirit with the public end of polygamy. She continued her work with the Orphan's Home and Day

[63] "To Our Friends," *Anti-Polygamy Standard*, February-March 1883, 1.

[64] Haywood, "Utah's Anti-Polygamy Society," 83; Bennion, "Equal to the Occasion," 46. The Edmunds Act amended the Morrill Act restating that polygamy was a felony punishable by a five-year prison term and a $500 fine, convicted polygamists were disfranchised and ineligible to hold public office, polygamists were disqualified for jury duty.

[65] Joan Smyth Iversen, *The Antipolygamy Controversy in U.S. Women's Movement, 1890-1925* (New York and London: Garland Publishing Company, 1997), 115.

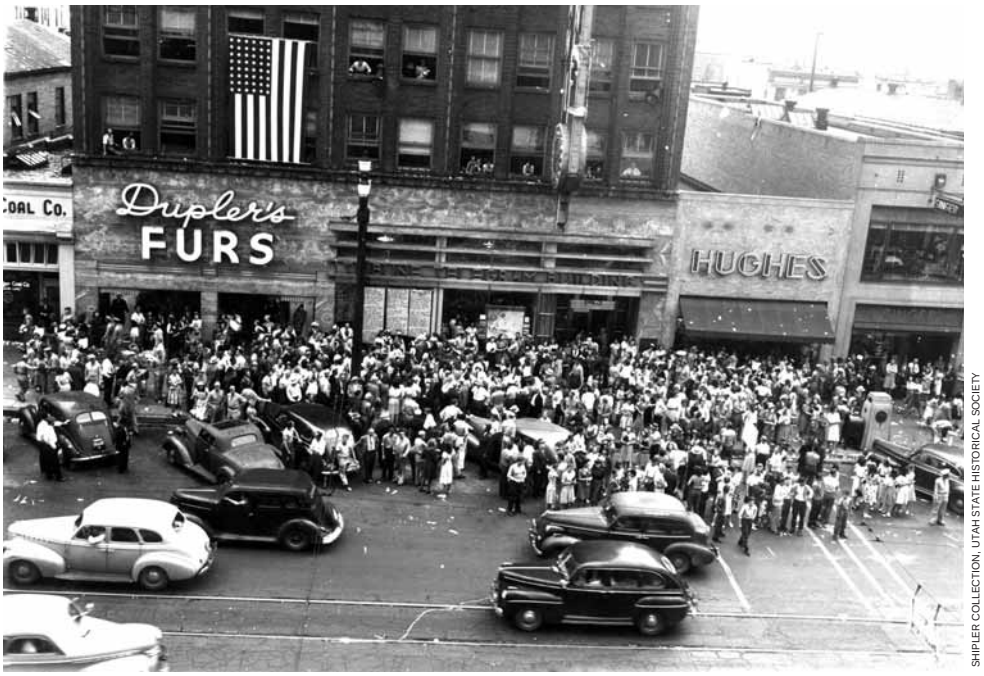
[66] "Suffrage in Utah," *The Woman's Journal* (7 July 1883).

[67] Ibid.

Nursery and served as president of the Sarah Daft Home, a women's retirement home both located in Salt Lake City. She was an active member and president of the Poetry Society. She was also a loving and devoted wife and mother. Bernard and Jennie celebrated their fiftieth wedding anniversary on June 8, 1921.[68] Bernard died the following year on November 5, 1922.[69] Jennie lived as a widow for eight years until her death on February 7, 1930, forty years after the Manifesto was announced and polygamy publicly ended. Her obituaries in the *Salt Lake Tribune* and *Deseret News* did not mention her anti-polygamy past but hinted at the founding of an unnamed women's club.[70]

The Blue Tea gave non-Mormon women in Salt Lake City an organizational opportunity to join together in self-improvement. They learned United States history, government, politics, economics, European art, music, culture, and literature. Above all they learned self-confidence, created networks, and discovered they were not alone. This was only a beginning and the skills Utah women learned opened countless doors to numerous local and national reform movements.

[68] "Couple Observe Golden Anniversary," *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 9, 1921.
[69] "First Utah Map Maker is Dead, ." *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 5, 1922.
[70] Journal History, February 7, 1930, 1.



SHIPLER COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

"Save 'em, Wash 'em, Clean 'em, Squash 'em": The Story of the Salt Lake City Minute Women

By KATIE CLARK BLAKESLEY

World War II was arguably the most important event of the twentieth century. It changed the lives of countless individuals; those who served overseas and those, like the Utah Minute Women, who remained on the homefront. Although historians have written about the war for more than fifty years, there are still important perspectives and stories to be recounted. Many histories of World War II focus on the experiences of soldiers—combat pilots, prisoners of war, and military officials, very few on the experiences of those on the homefront. Perhaps because the majority of veterans were men, most histories written about the war relate their experiences. Important histories about women in World War II have been written; however, most focus on the history of working women, not home front volunteers.

Large enthusiastic crowds gather on Main Street, Salt Lake City, to hear of the good news, Victory in Japan, August 10, 1945.

Katie Clark Blakesley is a graduate student in the History Department at the University of Utah. Her great-grandmother, Ada Merle Pocock Clark, was a Minute Woman and Chairwoman for Lake Point in Tooele County.

This paper examines the role that the Salt Lake City Minute Women, a group of volunteers, played in the war effort. The activities of the Minute Women as volunteers offer insights into the powerful responses that individuals and communities made to assist in the war effort. A review of the work of the Salt Lake Minute Women helps enhance our understanding of home front life during World War II and the important role of women volunteers during the war.

The responsibilities of the Minute Women were stated clearly in a letter from the War Production Board: "Dear Minute Women: You have been drafted into one of the most important jobs given to women on the home front—that of educating the home owners to their responsibility in this war. Many are prone to think that the responsibility of winning the war belongs to the other person. In the face-to-face contacts on your own block you have an opportunity to correct this attitude and give the women the facts."[1]

Salt Lake City provides an excellent case study for volunteer women throughout the United States because the city had an efficient and active women's organization, but also because its population was typical of many mid-sized American cities during World War II.[2] The Salt Lake Minute Women were active in a volunteer campaign to persuade residents of Salt Lake City to mobilize and support conservation and salvage activities. According to *Utah Minute Women: World War II, 1942-1945,* the official history of the Utah Minute Women, "The woman who was selected as a leader on her block was called a 'Minute Woman' because she stood ready to disseminate information in her area and carry forward a war job any time she was notified."[3] By mobilizing the community and collecting salvage items, the Minute Women strengthened the morale of women at home and helped alleviate war time shortages. The Minute Women organized waste paper drives and collected tin cans, nylon and silk hosiery, scrap metal, rubber, and other needed items.

These volunteers participated in salvage activities to be patriotic, to do their part to help win the war and, at times, because of community pressure. Using a combination of door to door canvassing, newspaper and radio coverage, and posted fliers, Salt Lake Minute Women convinced

[1] War Production Board, Salt Lake City, to the Minute Women, December 1942, MSS B 149, Utah State Historical Society Collections, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereafter referred to as USHS Collections. This source is a scrapbook compiled by Marion Belnap Kerr, entitled "Salt Lake Minute Women World War 2 Minutes and Some Newspaper Clippings of the Salt Lake City Woman's Unity War Production Board United States of America June 28, 1942 to January 31, 1946." Included in the scrapbook are newspaper articles and other clippings, correspondence, meeting minutes, etc.

[2] According to the 1940 Census, Salt Lake City had a population of 149,934. Allan Kent Powell, ed., *Utah History Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 437.

[3] Grace D. Wahlquist and United States of America War Production Board, Conservation and Salvage Division, *Utah Minute Women, World War II, 1942-1945 (*N.P., 1945), 20. *Utah Minute Women* is a general description of the Minute Women's activities throughout the war. Copies were given to libraries and the Utah State Historical Society.

friends and neighbors of the importance of their work. In doing so, they made a valuable contribution to America's war effort. Margaret Atwood Herbert, a woman who worked in Salt Lake City and at Bushnell Hospital in Brigham City during the war remembered, "We could never have won that war if there hadn't been the effort on the home front."[4]

When news reached the Salt Lake Valley of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Utahns reacted in different ways. Adults and children alike worried about their families, especially sons and brothers, and dreaded the mobilization they knew would come. Helen Hansen, who was twenty years old and living in downtown Salt Lake City on December 7, 1941, recalled: "It was a complete shock. No one expected the Japanese to bomb Pearl Harbor; they just didn't think it could be done. We didn't know what to think. The only news we got was the newsreels, and the war was all you heard about."[5]

Within a month of the Pearl Harbor attack, the first national scrap drive was held. Americans across the country took the opportunity to channel their emotional anguish into action by gathering and donating scrap to the war effort. The Conservation and Salvage Division of the War Production Board was created to oversee scrap and salvage drives across the United States. In June 1942 Conservation and Salvage officials in Washington D.C. decided that women should be called to undertake the salvage effort.[6] The agency's goal was to "select a woman leader on each block in every community in every state."[7] These leaders would be responsible for administering the salvage program and educating the public on the necessity of salvage. Expressing their confidence in American women, government officials wrote: "Women have the heart for getting behind a project and the knack for putting it over—once they understand it and believe in it. Show the ladies the vital need of salvage, what they can do, when and how they can do it and you will create the irresistible drive so essential to the success of this great wartime effort."[8]

In response to orders from Washington B.L. Wood, War Production Board Executive Secretary for Utah, sent a letter to Salvage Chairmen throughout the state of Utah asking them to help choose female leaders in their town. The women "should be well known in the community, energetic, and be able to get along with people."[9] The Utah Minute Women were organized under the War Production Board. Utah was the first state to complete its Minute Women organization with a force of 32 county directors, 333 city chairwomen, 8,000 Minute Women, and 5,000 Paper Troopers. [10]

[4] Allan Kent Powell, *Utah Remembers World War II* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1991), 175.

[5] Paul and Helen Hansen, conversation with author, June 9, 2001, Salt Lake City, Utah. Paul was in the service during the war, Helen, his war bride, lived in Salt Lake throughout most of the war.

[6] Wahlquist, *Utah Minute Women*, 14.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Bureau of Industrial Conservation, *National Salvage Program*, 8, MSS A 1821, USHS Collections.

[9] B.L. Wood to Salvage Chairmen or municipal leaders in Utah, July 9, 1942, as found in Wahlquist, *Utah Minute Women*, 18.

[10] Ibid., 17.

On July 28, 1942, B.L. Wood chaired the first meeting of the "Woman's Board of the Conservation Division of the War Production Board of Salt Lake City," a group later known as the Salt Lake Minute Women. He called the small group of women in attendance to "special projects of salvage" and gave them an overview of how the program was to run. Grace D. Wahlquist, chairman of the Utah Minute Women, also addressed the group. She outlined a three-step publicity program for the Minute Women: radio, press, and personal contact. She also told the women that "all things are at our command to use in this all-out program."[11]

UTAH MINUTE WOMEN MANUSCRIPT, MSS B 149, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Grace D. Wahlquist, state chairman, Utah Minute Women, Women's Unit, Conservation and Salvage Division, War Production Board.

Six days later, on August 3, 1942, Grace D. Wahlquist and Bertha S. Stevenson, Salt Lake Minute Women Chairman, met with eight other women, forming the Salt Lake Minute Women Committee. These women were to participate in the day to day aspects of the salvage effort, such as collecting fats and tin cans; however, they also ran the administrative aspect of the salvage effort. It was these women who organized mass meetings, gave radio announcements, organized drives, and coordinated the transport of massive amounts of materials. Minute Women and state and local leaders alike could feel confident in their leaders, all of whom had previously held impressive leadership positions in the community. Prior to her term as Chairman, Grace D. Wahlquist served for seven years as the chair of the Salt Lake Council of Women's Centennial Committee. Bertha S. Stevenson had been the past president of the Salt Lake County Medical Auxiliary Society as well as past president of the Salt Lake Council of Women, a group of seventy-six civic clubs. Both women were eventually inducted into the Salt Lake Council of Women's Hall of Fame, along with several other prominent Minute Women.[12]

In addition to prominent leaders, directives from the War Production Board influenced the Minute Women organization. In 1942 the Board issued *The National Salvage Program Official Plan* that suggested different ways to organize local salvage committees. Women were encouraged to utilize existing organizations, such as "Parent-Teacher Associations,

[11] Minutes, July 28, 1942, MSS A 1821, USHS Collections. Minutes compiled by Marion Belnap Kerr. Unless otherwise stated, all minutes mentioned in this paper are from the Salt Lake Minute Women meetings and were compiled by Mrs. Kerr. [Hereafter cited as Minutes.]

[12] "Club Names Seven to 'Hall of Fame,'" *Salt Lake Tribune,* February 27, 1953. The Salt Lake Council of Women inducted a handful of women into its Hall of Fame every five years.

SALT LAKE TRIBUNE COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Utah women help in the war effort participating in Victory Canning, August 1943.

Federation of Women's Clubs, American Legion Auxiliaries. . . . church groups, Home-Economic Extension Units, Girls Scouts, and A.F. of L. women's representatives."[13] Women in these kinds of organizations already had shown an interest in community affairs and were likely candidates for service in the war salvage effort.

A month later, on September 5, the initial organization of the Minute Women was completed. Mrs. Junius Fisher was called to be the organization chairman; she suggested organizing the city into districts along school and political lines. This structure aided in communication and mobilization efforts as women lived in the same general area and were often acquainted with each other through their school children or working together in school, community, church, business, or other activities. Members of the Salt Lake Minute Women Committee were assigned to be district chairmen.[14] Each district chairman was asked to organize a district meeting on September 9, 1942; the local PTA President, LDS Relief Society President, and the Women's Club President were invited. Together, these women suggested names of women as block captains. The district chairman kept an up-to-date map with the number of blocks in her district and the names of the block captains involved. Whenever business warranted, an individual district would meet at the local schoolhouse.[15] As the war progressed, other subsets of women were organized. If the Minute Women leadership wanted to get in touch with the block captains, they would hold captain meetings,

[13] Bureau of Industrial Conservation, *National Salvage Program*, 8, MSS A 1821, USHS Collections.
[14] Minutes, September 7, 1942.
[15] Ibid., October 5, 1942.

which were smaller than mass meetings but larger than district meetings.[16] In May 1944 the Salt Lake Minute Women instituted executive board meetings.[17] Mrs. Stevenson and three other women met as the new executive board whenever urgent business arose.

In addition to being district chair, each member of the committee had a specific role and was responsible for mobilizing a specific group of women in the community. For example, Marion Belnap Kerr was in charge of publicity and was also the special contact advisor for the Utah Federation of Women's clubs. Other women were designated as special contact advisors for Sugar House, the PTA, the Salt Lake Air Base, Catholic Women's League and all other church organizations except for the Latter-day Saints, the President's Patriotic Defense Council, and the LDS Women's Organizations. Because the Minute Women cooperated closely with existing civic groups, they were able to dedicate their time to salvage activities instead of time consuming social engagements. In addition, they were able to call upon club officers to give announcements and encourage their members to participate in salvage activities. The Minute Women made a point of keeping the PTA, the Utah Federation of Women's Clubs, and the Salt Lake Council of Women updated on their activities.[18]

On September 12, 1942, the Minute Women held their first mass meeting, where they outlined their salvage program.[19] Utah was the first state to organize as directed with a woman on every block. M.J. Greenwood, the Utah Salvage Chairman, and Grace D. Wahlquist, State Chairman, Women's Unit, quickly sent a letter to block leaders that read, "You have been called . . . to participate on the Women's Salvage Committee, which is the most important activity on the home front. . . .You will stand ever ready on the home front to answer any emergency call which is vital to the winning of the war. . . .The work you will do might be the means of saving the lives of your own boys or your immediate family or friends."[20] Minute Women were a unique volunteer force. Women in leadership positions were selected and given official letters of appointment because they had previously exhibited the ability to lead. General membership in the Minute Women was not solicited in an open fashion, instead, members were "hand picked" by leaders such as Grace D. Wahlquist.[21]

The Minute Women knew that they could meet government imposed salvage quotas only if they encouraged every household in Salt Lake to participate. The wide ranging suggestions given by the national War Production Board indicate that this was a job only for the most dedicated;

[16] Ibid., November 1, 1942.
[17] Ibid., May 29, 1944.
[18] Ibid., November 1, 1942.
[19] Ibid., September 7, 1942.
[20] M.J. Greenwood, B.L. Wood, Grace Wahlquist, and L.A. Stevenson to Women of America, September 9, 1942, MSS B 149, USHS Collections.
[21] Wahlquist, *Utah Minute Women*, 20.

it wasn't something that could be done half-heartedly or haphazardly. Instead, it took persevering women who spent many hours canvassing neighborhoods, demonstrating in front of department stores, and creating unique propaganda to heighten the community's interest and support.

Minute Women educated their neighbors about new and continuing salvage activities — a duty they took seriously. Grace D. Wahlquist wrote, "This woman was to stand ready to disseminate the correct information on *what* was needed, *why* it was needed, *how* it should be saved and *where* it should be taken in order to be used in the war effort."[22] On many occasions, Minute Women were expected to respond to an assignment on a "minute's" notice. They believed that their salvage effort was just as important to the war effort as was the service of soldiers abroad or the work of their fellow men and women in war industries. "[Minute Women] never lost sight of the significant role of salvage in war production, and the constant demands of the battlefields were her statistics; however, she directed and assisted in many other war programs."[23]

Specifically, the Minute Women Block Captains were encouraged to canvass each house in their neighborhood and ask women to sign cards pledging to use only their fair share of food and pay only the established price for food.[24] They also explained what was needed, how to save the items, and how to turn them in to the local salvage depot.[25] The Committee sponsored lectures given by home economists, women editors, and others as often as possible. All Minute Women were encouraged to demonstrate in houses, town halls, clubs, department stores, schools, and street corners. Finally, and perhaps most effectively, Minute Women passed out pamphlets at department stores and contacted women feature editors, newspapers, radios, and other means to advertise their efforts.[26]

The Minute Women used every opportunity to educate their neighborhoods about the importance of salvage. Indicative of the thoroughness of the Minute Women's education efforts is the "Throw Your Scrap into the Fight" flier. It is a checklist of ninety-three different items that could be contributed to the war effort. The list included everything from old irons and radiators, to rubber garters and toys, to old sheets and men's shirts, to rope and burlap bags, "and anything else you can find made out of metal, rubber, cloth, or hemp."[27] Most likely, Minute Women distributed this flier to women on their block and posted it in public places. Clearly, the Minute

[22] Wahlquist, *Utah Minute Women*, 14.

[23] Ibid., 20.

[24] According to the minutes from October 4, 1943, the Minute Women cooperated with the Office of Price Administration by administering the Home Front Pledge to their neighbors.

[25] In Salt Lake City, the local salvage depot was located at 420 West, 800 South, Minutes August 3, 1942, MSS A 1821, USHS Collections.

[26] Bureau of Industrial Conservation, *National Salvage Program*, 8, MSS A 1821, USHS Collections.

[27] MSS A 1821, USHS Collections. Included in this collection are many charts, fliers, posters, pamphlets, and other items, many of which are referred to in this paper. In the majority of cases, there is no publication information.

Women wanted their neighborhoods to know that just about anything anyone could provide would be useful to the war effort.

The Salt Lake Minute Women used many different means to contact and persuade their neighbors and to inform their block captains of new programs and meetings. For example, the *Salt Lake Tribune* and *Deseret News* regularly ran small ads that advertised important meetings. An ad that ran in the *Tribune* on December 4, 1942, read: "Calling All Minute Women. All Salt Lake Minute women are requested to be present at an important mass meeting at South High School Saturday December 5th at 2 p.m. Instructions will be given regarding special work to be done immediately that we may properly 'Remember Pearl Harbor' on December 7."

HERE'S YOUR OPPORTUNITY TO HELP

Our boys on the battlefields are waging a mechanical war. They do not have a chance to win unless you do your part on the home front.

GLEAN - GATHER - GIVE
for
VICTORY

Turn these materials into the channels of WAR PRODUCTION:

1. **ALL TYPES OF METALS** —
Steel, iron, copper, brass, old tools, utensils, etc.

2. **FAT GREASES** —
Make glycerine for explosives, medicines, etc. STRAIN INTO TIN CAN AND TAKE TO NEAREST BUTCHER.

3. **TIN CANS** —
Needed for precious tin and steel. WASH, OPEN ENDS, FLATTEN, REMOVE WRAPPER. IN SALT LAKE, OGDEN, AND PROVO, TAKE TO NEAREST SCHOOL. Rest of state take to grocery store.

4. **NYLON AND SILK HOSIERY** —
Needed for powder bags, parachutes, etc. TAKE TO NEAREST HOSIERY COUNTER.

5. **RAGS** —
Needed for roofing, shipping cartons, wiping cloths, etc. WATCH NEWSPAPERS and follow instructions on collection.

BE PATRIOTIC — Don't wait for someone to call for this vital war material. Follow the example of our fighting men and GET YOUR MATERIAL TO THE BATTLEFRONT.

Sponsored by
JAMES A. HOGLE COMPANY

UTAH MINUTE WOMEN MANUSCRIPT, MSS A 1821, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Salt Lake women are encouraged to "Clean-Gather-Give for Victory."

To inform Minute Women of upcoming events, it was customary to have a mass meeting/pep rally. All Minute Women were invited to attend—district chairmen, block captains, and everyday volunteers. Minute Women would salute the flag, sing a patriotic song, and distribute literature.[28] Guest lecturers spoke about the importance of their work. Women were counseled that "business as usual" and "living normally" would not be possible for the remainder of the war. A statement by Dr. Dilworth Walker, chairman of War Services for Salt Lake City, at one 1942 rally made clear the critical nature of their work as he admonished the women, "War, if won, will be won by men on the front, if lost, will be lost on the homefront."[29]

The Minute Women also relied on the strong pro-war sentiments of

[28] For example, Bertha S. Stevenson presided at a mass meeting held on June 25, 1943, at the Capitol Theatre. Mrs. Grant Gregerson led the group in saluting the flag; they then sang the Star Spangled Banner.
[29] Minutes, December 5, 1942, MSS A 1821, USHS Collections.

UTAH MINUTE WOMEN MANUSCRIPT, MSS B 149, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Mrs. L. A. Stevenson, Salt Lake Chairman of Salt Lake Minute Women, July 1943–December 1945.

local and national newspapers and radio stations. In some cases they used catchy, albeit racist statements, such as "Load guns that'll lick the Japs by saving all your kitchen fats."[30] Patriotic newspaper articles furthered the Salt Lake Minute Women's cause. On Sunday, September 13, 1942, the *Salt Lake Tribune* ran a front page article and picture concerning the scrap drive that was to take place and making clear that every one should participate: "Uncle Sam is worried. He must find more scrap metal . . . so that the nation's armed forces will have the steel to fight the Jap and the nazi. That's why Uncle Sam, on his knees, has asked Salt Lake City to dig out every piece of metal . . . each home in Salt Lake is expected to produce 100 pounds of metal."

These efforts to rally support for the salvage activities were not in vain. People did respond to the calls for help. Some donated their scrap materials because it was convenient. However, most could see that their tin, fats, or other scraps would be made into tangible weapons.

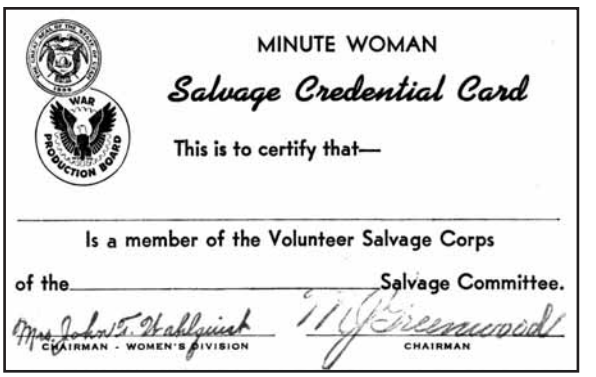
One of the Minute Women's first salvage efforts included a program to salvage household fats launched in 1942. To advertise the fats salvage drive the Minute Women distributed charts to members of the community. One chart showed that one tank car full of fats, or 60,000 pounds of fat, could make 6,000 pounds of glycerine. This in turn could be transformed into nitroglycerine for 240,000 anti-aircraft shells, alkyd resin paint for 1,200 medium tanks, 30,000 pounds of dynamite, or annual pharmaceutical supplies for 2,000 hospital beds.[31] The majority of the charts and fliers distributed by the Minute Women showed exactly how the contribution of a needed war material could help in the war effort.

The Minute Women, through newspaper articles and other publicity means, rallied their neighborhoods to participation in the national Pearl Harbor Fats Collection Day on December 7, 1942.[32] No doubt memories of the Japanese attack were still fresh in many Americans' minds and this was a tangible way they could remember Pearl Harbor while contributing goods that could be turned into weapons to help defeat the enemy.

The household fats salvage program was efficient and successful in Utah, as the state ranked fifth in the nation in 1942 for fats collections on a per

[30] Clipping, MSS B 149, USHS Collections.
[31] Chart Showing Fats Usage, MSS A 1821, USHS Collections.
[32] Wahlquist, *Utah Minute Women*, 23.

capita basis.[33] There are many possible reasons for the success of the household fats collection program. Joan Anderson, a Utah native, remembered that her family was already saving fats to make soap. Because they were in the habit of saving the fat, it was easy to turn it in to help the war effort.[34] Perhaps the fats program was so successful because women knew exactly how their contribution would be used to hurt the enemy. It was also relatively convenient. Instead of transporting big, bulky scrap metal or washing out tin cans, removing labels, and crushing them, women could deposit their fats with their local butcher on their regular visits.


MINUTE WOMAN

Salvage Credential Card

This is to certify that—

Is a member of the Volunteer Salvage Corps

of the Salvage Committee.

Mrs. John S. Wahlquist
CHAIRMAN - WOMEN'S DIVISION

W. W. Greenwood
CHAIRMAN

UTAH MINUTE WOMEN MANUSCRIPT, MSS B 149, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Minute Women Volunteer Salvage Corps Credential Card.

Minute Women capitalized on this mindset and used poignant pictures or stirring statements to encourage women to contribute to the salvage effort. This was the case with the nationwide effort to salvage tin which began in 1942. In a letter to the Minute Women of Salt Lake City, L. A. Stevenson outlined several items for which salvaged tin cans could be used. "1. There is enough tin in *3* salvaged cans to make a *Hand Grenade.* 2. *One tin can* yields enough tin for a pair of *Binoculars.* 3. A family of four saving its tin cans for two weeks will save sufficient tin to supply this metal for a portable *flame thrower*. 4. A month's savings of cans will make the bushings for *3 machine guns.* Save 'em, Wash 'em, Clean 'em, Squash 'em."[35]

Tin was also used to make the life saving morphine filled syrette (a tiny syringe). A flier distributed by Utah Minute Women entitled "Tin Needed For War," showed a syrette that contained "one dose of anesthetic, which will relieve the shock of a severe wound and may save the life of an American fighter."[36]

Many times Minute Women either created or distributed fliers with catchy sayings or poignant pictures. In the case of the tin drives, they were very aware that they could use pictures as propaganda to appeal emotionally to their fellow women to support the salvage effort. For a woman whose son, husband, or boy friend was serving overseas, a picture of a valiant nurse

[33] Ibid., 22.

[34] Joan Anderson, conversation with author, June 12, 2001, Salt Lake City, Utah. Joan Anderson was a young teenager living in Salt Lake City during World War II.

[35] Mrs. L.A. [Bertha S] Stevenson and Salt Lake Committee to The Minute Women of Salt Lake City, March 1943, MSS B 149, USHS Collections. Emphasis in original.

[36] Utah Minute Women, Salvage Division, War Production Board, "Tin Needed For War" (flier), MSS A 1821, USHS Collections.

injecting morphine into a dying soldier might make her stop and think that the soldier could be her loved one. With this kind of effective emotional appeal, women were more likely to save their tin cans.

Local department stores supported the tin drives. In the fall of 1942, J.C. Penney and five other department stores allowed Minute Women to set up publicity booths outside their stores for a week. Minute Women sat at the booths and passed out literature concerning proper tin can salvage. According to Bertha S. Stevenson in a letter to O. S. Evans, assistant manager of J.C. Penney, "through the medium of these booths, thousands of women were shown how to preserve and conserve this metal so vital to the war effort of our country."[37] ZCMI, the Auerbach Company, the Paris Company, and Sears Roebuck & Company were among the participating stores. These booths were a constant reminder to women going about their everyday business of the importance of salvage.

Schools in Salt Lake City and Ogden became involved in tin can drives in 1943.[38] Lowell Elementary School in Salt Lake City let students out an hour and a half early on tin can days to collect cans. In some areas, school principals encouraged contests among their rooms to help foster tin can collection.[39] Because children were given incentives at school, they encouraged their mothers to save cans for them.

Housewives began taking tin cans to grocery stores in May 1944. In more rural areas of Utah, many transportation companies hauled tin cans long distances to shipping points in Salt Lake City and Ogden free of charge. In addition, railroads reduced rates from eight dollars a ton to four dollars a ton: this made it feasible to ship the collected tin to the Metal and Thermit Detinning Plant in South San Francisco.[40] In most cases Minute Women covered the shipping costs with the money they received for the cans. For example, the Pepper Metal and Supply Company paid four dollars a ton for tin cans; it cost almost the same to ship them. The money received also was used to pay for expenses such as newspaper and radio ads, fliers, posters, and meals for volunteers during salvage drives.[41] If any profits remained at the end of the war, they were to "…be used for worthy war programs or civic charities."[42]

[37] Mrs. L.A. [Bertha S.] Stevenson to Mr. O.S. Evans, Assistant Manager, J.C. Penney, November 12, 1942, USHS Collection MSS B 149. Also found in minutes for the November 9, 1942, meeting.

[38] Wahlquist, *Utah Minute Women*, 25.

[39] Minutes, February 1943, MSS A 1821, USHS Collections. A representative from District 1, which covered from Main Street to 13th East and 6th to 17th South reported to the Committee about the successes of principals encouraging tin can class competitions.

[40] Historian Jessie L. Embry wrote that tin cans were an exception to the salvage collections because "the nearest 'detinning' plant was in San Francisco, and there was no way to ship scrap that far." "The Utah Homefront During World War II," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 63, (Summer 1995): 259. However, a careful study of newspaper articles and Salt Lake Minute Women meeting minutes shows that this was not the case. Utah women collected 6,557,968 pounds of tin during World War II. See also minutes, March 2, 1943, MSS A 1821, USHS Collections.

[41] Minutes, October 5, 1942, MSS A 1821, USHS Collections.

[42] Minutes, December 6, 1944, MSS A 1821, USHS Collections.

In 1942 and 1943 silk and nylon hosiery became a hot commodity in the salvage effort. Salt Lake Minute Women tried to convince women to donate their hosiery for the war effort. Minute Women explained that silk was used to make powder bags and nylon was used in parachutes, flares, and other war time materials. As with the tin can drive, Salt Lake Minute Women placed hosiery collection containers in dry goods and department stores, often at the hosiery counter.

For many women, giving up comforts such as silk and nylon hose demonstrated their dedication to winning the war. Thirteen year-old Dolores Oswald, a Salt Lake City resident, had planned to weave a rug from 780 silk stockings she had collected before the war began. Instead, she donated them to the war effort "hoping they would weave a web around Tokio [sic]."[43] Helen Hansen remembers, "Stockings were like gold. If you had a pair of stockings you were in good shape. I remember darning a run in a pair [of nylons] because there weren't any more to buy." She also commented that "because everyone had runs or holes in their nylons, people didn't really notice or care if your nylons were in disrepair. If you didn't have stockings, you just went without."[44]

A special "Silk and Nylon Hosiery Day in Utah" was designated for May 23, 1943. Women who turned in five pairs of nylons were given a free movie ticket.[45] By June 7, a total of 1,575 picture shows tickets were distributed in exchange for hose. The collection totaled 135,000 pairs of hose that weighed 1,790 pounds.[46] For some, conveniently placed collection bins prompted them to donate their hose; others were, no doubt, encouraged by free show tickets. By the time the hosiery program was terminated on November 30, 1943, Utah women had collected and shipped 19,527 pounds of silk and nylon hosiery.[47]

Utah Minute Women tried to involve their entire neighborhoods in their volunteer salvage crusade. During the waste paper salvage campaign Utah Minute Women followed up a national radio campaign by recruiting children and teenagers to participate in collecting efforts in their neighborhoods.

On June 1, 1944, Salt Lake Minute Women were informed that they had been selected as one of a hundred cities to officially include children in the war effort. The children were organized as Paper Troopers under the direction of the Minute Women. Their duties included delivering hand bills, contacting homes, and assisting the Minute Women in any way possible. During waste paper drives, the Paper Troopers helped tie, move, and collect paper bundles on each block.[48] The Utah Minute Women

[43] MSS B 149, USHS Collections.
[44] Hansen conversation, June 9, 2001.
[45] Wahlquist, *Utah Minute Women*, 24.
[46] Minutes, June 7, 1943, MSS A 1821, USHS Collections.
[47] *Official Salvage News Bulletin*, January 1944. MSS A 1821, USHS Collections.
[48] Grace D. Wahlquist and L.A.[Bertha S.] Stevenson to Salt Lake Minute Women, July 1, 1944, MSS B 149, 205, USHS Collections.

KEARNS SCRAPBOOK PHOTOGRAPH, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

A Minute Women float in a Salt Lake City parade circa 1944.

invited more than 5,000 children to become affiliated with the War Production Board and made it official by presenting them with colorful Paper Trooper emblems. In September 1945 between 1,500 to 2,000 Paper Troopers who had collected two thousand pounds of waste paper were given a hexagonal felt patch that read, "Paper Trooper Distinguished Service Award: War Production Board, 2000 pounds."[49] In addition, Paper Troopers were awarded embroidered "battle bar" patches for participating in paper campaigns with the names of European, Marshalls, Saipan, Philippines, and Iwo Jima.[50] Boy Scouts who collected one thousand pounds of waste paper were given the prestigious Eisenhower medal. In order to reach this goal, the Boy Scouts went door to door collecting waste paper bundles which were transported by Army and volunteer trucks.[51] Minute Women's publicity campaigns, incentives, and persistent organizing of salvage drives made participation in the collecting activities an accepted, even desired endeavor. With Paper Troopers involved in the collecting activities, Minute Women had more time to organize and administer the extensive and varied collection initiatives.

The following chart shows the pounds of scrap metal, waste paper, tin cans, and household fats that the Utah Minute Women collected during the war.

Minute Women Salvage Collections, 1942-1945

	1942	1943	1944	1945 (8 mo.)	Total
Scrap Iron & Steel	84,000,000	84,499,929	48,966,344	24,542,700	242,008,973
Waste Paper	7,560,000	666,194	20,328,000	18,024,000	46,578,194
Tin Cans	268,000	2,085,895	2,707,091	1,497,000	6,557,968
Household Fats	114,836	714,193	865,130	568,379	2,262,538

[49] "Paper Trooper Distinguished Service Award: War Production Board, 2000 pounds," (patch, hexagonal), "European," "Marshalls," "Saipan," "Philippines," "Iwo Jima," (four smaller, rectangular patches pinned under the "paper trooper" patch), MSS A 1821, USHS Collections.

[50] "Boys, Girls to Receive Awards for Paper Drives." *Deseret News,* September 10, 1945.

[51] Mrs. L.A. [Bertha S.] Stevenson to Salt Lake City Minute Women, March 16, 1945, MSS B 149, USHS Collections.

The four types of salvage materials listed above generated the majority of the more than 300 million pounds of salvage material that was collected in Utah during the war. This massive amount of material is even more extraordinary considering the women who collected the material were not paid for their time or effort. And yet, eight thousand Utah women participated as Minute Women to do their part.

By the end of 1944, Utahns had collected 1,694,159 pounds of fats. If all of the fats collected in Utah had gone towards alkyd resin paint, the fats would have produced enough paint for 33,600 tanks or approximately 38 percent of all tanks produced in the United States up to 1944.[52] To further illustrate the enormity of the Minute Women's salvage efforts of household fats, 2,262,538 pounds of fats were collected between 1942 and 1945. This large amount of fats was translated into any one of the following uses: alkyd resin paint for 45,600 medium tanks; or, 1,140,000 pounds of dynamite; or, 9,120,000 anti-aircraft shells; or annual pharmaceutical supplies for 76,000 hospital beds.[53]

The Minute Women's publicity efforts were equally impressive. They distributed more than one million pieces of educational material, mailed a quarter million letters, displayed thousands of posters in public places, and donated more than fifty million hours of volunteer service. The Minute Women contributed significantly to the war effort.[54]

In many ways, the Minute Women reached their goal to involve everyone in the salvage effort. The Minute Women had the support of the media. "Loyal reporters from the *Salt Lake Tribune, Salt Lake Telegram,* and *Deseret News* called at the State Salvage Office practically every day during the three and one-half years it was maintained by the War Production Board."[55] Radio stations, theaters, Utah schools, Girl and Boy Scouts, and many other organizations assisted in the publicity, collection, distribution, and transportation of salvage materials. Almost every business or industry was directly involved in the salvage program. Grace Wahlquist reported that: "grocery stores collected tin cans; beverage companies . . . hauled the cans to shipping points….dry cleaning establishments cleaned clothing in Old Clothing Drives; drug stores collected tin tubes; garages and service stations collected scrap iron and rubber; dry goods stores collected silk and nylon hosiery; and, all industries and business houses collected scrap iron and waste paper."[56]

[52] By the end of 1944, American industry had produced 88,140 tanks. See C. L. Sulzberger, *American Heritage New History of World War II*, revised and updated by Stephen Ambrose (New York: Penguin, 1997), 227.

[53] The figures were extrapolated from the previously cited Chart Showing Fats Usage, MSS A1821, USHS Collections. The chart showed that 60,000 pounds of fat equaled one tank full of fat, which equaled 6,000 pounds of nitroglycerine. This computes to almost thirty-eight tanks of fat.

[54] Wahlquist, *Utah Minute Women*, 37, 54.

[55] Ibid., 53.

[56] Ibid., 54.

UTAH MINUTE WOMEN MANUSCRIPT, MSS A 1821, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Salt Lake women are encouraged to recycle tin cans for the war effort.

Their efforts did make a difference and were recognized at the end of the war. Ralph E. Bristol, District Manager for the War Production Board, wrote to Grace D. Wahlquist: "There has been no group that I know of engaged in war work with the War Production Board that even begins to match the superlative performance and wonderful results obtained by our Minute Women under your leadership, Mrs. Wahlquist."[57]

Accolades such as the one from Bristol show that the Minute Women were dedicated and very good at what they did. However, they do little to tell us why women would put their heart and soul into a volunteer activity. At a mass meeting attended by a thousand Minute Women, Genet P. Garner compared the women to their patriotic ancestors in the days of the American Revolution: "America is no stronger than her women. The spirit of 1942 and the Minute Women of 1942 are the same as the spirit and the women of 1776. Women will retain the freedom of the men of 1776, scrap must be collected before the snow flies. America is no stronger than her Minute Women." At the same meeting, Utah women were counseled that they must help "recover the Holy Grail of Freedom . . . the Women of America must prove to be the second line of heroes." [58] Other statements at many of the mass meetings were similar to those of Genet Garner. By participating in the salvage effort, Minute Women saw their contribution to the war effort as very significant. Americans look upon the Revolutionary War as a gathering of heroes, brave men and women fighting, sometimes even giving their lives to oppose tyranny. Minute Women saw themselves in the same light—they were defending their nation's liberty by collecting much needed salvage material instead of using the sword.

Many of the women participated in home front drives because they felt it was their duty. When asked why she participated in salvage programs, Dorothy Burton said, "You just did. You felt a sense of duty to help your country, so you did everything you could."[59]

Minute Women did more than just collect materials for the war effort. On September 12, 1945, the Salt Lake Minute Women donated two thousand

[57] Ralph E. Bristol, District Manager, War Production Board, to Mrs. Grace Wahlquist, Chairman, Minute Women of Utah, September 14, 1945. *Utah Minute Women*, 60.

[58] Minutes, September 12, 1942, MSS A 1821, USHS Collections.

[59] Dorothy Burton, conversation with author, June 12, 2001, Salt Lake City, Utah. Dorothy was in her twenties during the war and lived and worked in Salt Lake City.

books for the wounded soldiers who were being treated at Bushnell Hospital in Brigham City. The books were purchased with proceeds of a Double V (standing for Victory and Veterans) waste paper drive held July 1945.[60] Included with the books was a placard showing a majestic, patriotic, and elegant looking woman—a fitting representative of the Minute Women, their motivation and contribution to the war.[61]

SHIPLER COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

World War II War Bonds Drive, General Motors Group, Salt Lake City, August 1942.

The Salt Lake Minute Women were disbanded on January 31, 1946, less than five months after the formal surrender of Japan on September 2, 1945. The women helped ease the transition from wartime to peace, in part because there were still shortages that were associated with the war.

Utah's Minute Women received commendations from almost every corner. The state legislature issued a joint resolution "commending and congratulating the Utah Salvage Committee on a very outstanding Record of Accomplishment."[62] Governor Herbert Maw wrote: "The success of your labors, undoubtedly, was a major factor in bringing victory to our side, for at no time were our fighting men left wanting."[63] In a letter to Grace D. Wahlquist, M.J. Greenwood, state salvage chairman, thanked the Minute Women for their "outstanding and gratifying" results in their salvage efforts.[64] F.G. Jamison, a regional manager for the Conservation and Salvage Division of the War Production Board wrote, "Utah's fighting sons can be rightfully proud of your homefront achievements, and the magnificent contribution you have made to the winning of the war."[65]

Although the Salt Lake Minute Women were one of the best organized groups, there were women's salvage divisions across the country that also contributed their time, talents, and leadership skills to make a difference on the homefront. The volunteer female homefront armies contributed greatly to the morale of those on the homefront as well as to the success of the war. It is time they took their place in history as the heroes that they were.

[60] Program, MSS A 1821, USHS Collections.

[61] "Presented to Men of Bushnell by the Utah Minute Women and the Salt Lake Tribune and Telegram," (card) September 12, 1945, USHS Collection MSS A 1821.

[62] H.J.R. No. 10, in Wahlquist, *Utah Minute Women*, 56.

[63] September 30, 1945, in Wahlquist, *Utah Minute Women*, 57.

[64] September 17, 1945, in Wahlquist, *Utah Minute Women*, 61.

[65] F. G. Jamison, Regional Manager, Conservation and Salvage Division to the Utah Minute Women, Denver, September 5, 1945, in Wahlquist, *Utah Minute Women*, 59.

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

"Rather a Curious One": Remembering Utah's Sanpete Valley Railway[1]

By RICHARD FRANCAVIGLIA

Sanpete Valley Railway locomotive #50 shown with unidentified crew circa 1910. This 2-8-0 "consolidation" type standard gauge steam locomotive was well suited for steep grades and slow speeds.

Although railroads in the Intermountain West are usually regarded heroically—men and machines overcoming vast distances, tall mountains, and forbidding deserts—the historical record also reveals a more humorous side to their construction and operation.[2] This essay is about that other, more whimsical, side of railroading where history and folklore converge. It builds on a growing literature that recognizes the railroad's role in popular attitudes about the West—attitudes that were shaped at a surprisingly early date.[3]

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[1] Some authorities suggest that the name "Sanpete" in this railroad's name should consist of two separate words (San Pete) and they are technically correct. However, the railroad itself varied in its usage of either San Pete or Sanpete. Because the railroad's equipment was sometimes lettered as one word, as were its timetables, and because locals remembering this railroad usually wrote its name as one word, this essay honors them. Hence, I have elected to use one word—Sanpete—for both the railroad name and the valley's name.

[2] Consider, for example, the case of the Carson and Colorado Railroad which built southward from sparsely populated western Nevada down into even more sparsely populated eastern California in 1881. Upon riding the railroad that he had helped finance, entrepreneur Darius Mills soberly told his fellow railroad magnates, "Gentlemen, either we have built the railroad 300 miles too long, or 300 years too soon." See Lucius Beebe and Charles Clegg, *Steamcars to the Comstock* (Berkeley: Howell-North, 1957), 75.

[3] See Richard Francaviglia and Jimmy Bryan, "'Are We Chimerical In This Opinion?' Visions of a Pacific Railroad and Western Expansion Before 1845," *Pacific Historical Review*, 71 (May 2002): 179-202.

Railroads and identity have been closely connected in Utah since at least the early 1850s when visions of them promised to transform the territory. Peoples of varied backgrounds and interests backed the early lines. By 1869 the Utah Territory was astride the first transcontinental railroad line as the rails of the Central Pacific and Union Pacific were joined at Promontory Summit. By the late nineteenth century, Utah was served by a wide variety of railroads that had varying relationships to lives of the people who farmed its valleys, ranched its slopes, and mined its mountains. Although giants like the Southern Pacific and Union Pacific served Utah, smaller rail lines also abounded. With routes measuring in the dozens rather than hundreds or thousands of miles, these smaller lines often began life as independents aimed at serving particular areas. They included a plethora of mining-related railroads and numerous granger railroads that served agricultural valleys. Between the smaller lines and the giants, Utah was also served by mid-sized regional railroads like the Rio Grande and the Western Pacific.[4]

From the study of the historical literature and conversations with people in the Intermountain West, one interesting fact related to the size of railroads is clear—the smaller the railroad, the greater the personalized lore surrounding it. This inverse correlation between the size of the railroad (usually measured in capitalization and, ultimately, length) and the propensity of locals to identify with—and tell engaging stories about—particular railroads is fascinating. As Violet Boyce and Mabel Harmer observed in Utah's Bingham Canyon area, the standard gauge mainline "through" trains that "never stopped for the small towns" were quite different from their narrow gauge counterparts, which ran alongside the main track: "the little narrow gauge locomotive with its 'cinder-trap' square smoke stack," they recalled, "stopped on almost every run to take on water, and it always seemed to scream in pain as it labored over rusty rails and along the bend to the water tower."[5] Note the personification as the narrow gauge train has feelings that contrast with the mainline through train's indifference.

The premise of this essay—that the smaller the railroad (smallness usually being equated with local or regional ownership and a close connection to the local economy) the more likely it is to be regarded with both humor and affection by the people who use it—is also supported by popular literature. By about 1900 the sprawling, standard gauge Southern Pacific Railroad was regarded as an impersonal manifestation of the robber barons, and earned the title "The Octopus" as immortalized in Frank Norris' populist novel of the same name.[6] However, at the other end of the spectrum from giants like the Southern Pacific, the West's small narrow

[4] The Rio Grande line connected Utah with Denver and became a potent transportation force in the region by the late nineteenth century. The Western Pacific connected Salt Lake City with the San Francisco Bay Area in the early twentieth century.

[5] Violet Boyce and Mabel Harmer, *Upstairs to a Mine* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1976), 32.

[6] Frank Norris, *The Octopus, A Story of California* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1901).

gauge lines were often regarded as enterprises built at a more human scale.[7] There are several reasons that the smaller railroads generally endeared themselves to locals and travelers alike. The first relates to the actual size of equipment on a narrow gauge line. With its diminutive cars and locomotives, the narrow gauge inherently seemed more "personal" in scale. Then, too, these railroads frequently connected towns rather than large cities. Lastly, the smaller railroads were also more likely to employ locals and to be more heavily dependent on the local economy. They were, in a very real sense, more in touch with the local color.

Consider the case of the Sanpete Valley Railway, originally a narrow gauge line constructed as part of Utah's energetic railroad boom period in the late 1870s and 1880s. Because the lighter rails and diminutive equipment of narrow gauge lines required a smaller initial investment and could negotiate tighter curves, narrow gauge was a perfect solution for railroad construction in areas where capital was in short supply and the topography rugged. The Sanpete Valley Railway began construction in 1880, branching off of the Utah Southern railroad line that had reached Nephi by 1879.[8] Like many lines in this part of the Intermountain West, the Sanpete Valley Railway was partly backed by Mormon interests, who sought funding in many locales to support the construction of railroads in Utah Territory and adjacent areas.[9] Yet it was also a result of investment by other outside interests—larger corporations who sought to profit from the region's development in the later nineteenth century. Selection of narrow gauge was perfectly suited for smaller railroads built largely for speculation, and the Sanpete Valley was among them.

Although originally only three feet wide and about thirty miles in length, the Sanpete Valley Railway was brought to the attention of the world shortly after its construction when the peripatetic British writer Philip Robinson toured portions of the region in the early 1880s. As a Mason, Robinson might have been expected to castigate the Latter-day Saints; instead, however, he found the Mormons to be fascinating, devoting a considerable portion of his popular book *Sinners and Saints* (1883) to them. In addition to the Mormons, Robinson commented on almost anything that drew his interest, including the Native Americans, mining, and railroads. By chance or design, Robinson's itinerary led him to Juab County, where he boarded the Sanpete Valley Railway for a memorable ride from Nephi into the San Pete Valley or San Pitch Valley, as the Sanpete Valley was then widely known.

[7] Note, however, that even the Southern Pacific ultimately purchased the narrow gauge Carson and Colorado railroad, which became known as the "Slim Princess."

[8] Pearl D. Wilson, "Nephi" in *Utah History Encyclopedia* ed by Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 394-95. See also Gary B. Peterson and Lowell G. Bennion, *Sanpete Scenes: a Guide to Utah's Heart* (Eureka, Utah: Basin/Plateau Press, 1987), 40.

[9] See Leonard Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: an Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993), 276.

GEORGE EDWARD ANDERSON PHOTOGRAPHER, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Sanpete Valley Railway steam engine and construction crew.

Robinson's words about an otherwise obscure Utah railroad are worthy of comment not only for their rarity, but also their humor. Robinson began chapter twelve of *Saints and Sinners* by noting that, "from Nephi, a narrow-gauge line runs up the Salt Creek Cañon, and away across a wilderness to a little mining settlement called Wales, inhabited by Welsh Mormons who work the adjacent coal-mines." With characteristic acerbic wit, Robinson added, " the affair belongs to an English company, and it is worth noting that 'English companies' are considered here to be very proper subjects for jest." The reason, Robinson concluded, is that "when nobody else in the world will undertake a hopeless enterprise, an English company appears to be always on hand to embark in it, and this fact displays a confidence on the part of Americans in British credulity, and a confidence on the part of the Britishers in American honesty, which ought to be mutually instructive."[10] Robinson was correct on several points. First, the railroad had a complex history of mis-starts in getting organized and funded. Robinson was also correct about the British connection. Utah railroad historian Don Strack notes that the Sanpete Valley Railway was owned and controlled by the San Pete Coal and Coke Company, which was later reorganized as the Central Pacific Coal and Coke Company, "a British corporation organized and promoted in London."[11]

[10] Philip S. Robinson, *Sinners and Saints: A Tour Across the States and Round Them; With Three Months Among the Mormons* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1883), 160.

[11] Donald Strack, "Railroads in San Pete Valley, Utah: A Narrative History,"at http://utahrails.net/utahrails/san-pete.htm accessed September 12, 2002.

GEORGE EDWARD ANDERSON PHOTOGRAPHER, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Sanpete Valley Railway engine and employees.

Robinson's timing was crucial. He had arrived just in time to experience early operations on the Sanpete Valley Railway, which was completed in 1882 to the coal mining town of Wales.[12] The mines were what originally drew the railroad's interest, for coal and coke were beginning to come into high demand by the mining industry. Ironically, the coal mines at Wales began to decline at just this time, making the Sanpete Valley Railway one of the many railroads that were subject to the volatile vagaries of the mining industry. Railroad historians note that "within two years of construction, the end of track at Wales, near the closed down coal mines, had been taken up and relaid from Draper Junction to Chester."[13] After the closing of the mines at Wales, the Sanpete Valley Railway settled into a more agrarian existence. The line began to appear on maps of the area by the late nineteenth century, although some still showed it serving Wales long after it ceased operations to that mining town.[14]

Philip Robinson recalled his initial encounter with the railroad in Nephi describing the train as "rather a curious one," which "stopped for passengers at the corner of the street." The accommodations were also rather unusual, for ". . . when we got 'aboard,' we found a baggage car the only vehicle provided for us." Small wonder Robinson was taken aback. Having traveled across the nation on the finest trains then available, he was accustomed to commodious coaches and Pullman cars, not the Spartan accommodations of the Sanpete Valley Railway. In another of his humorous asides, Robinson noted that "a number of apostles and elders were on Conference tour, and the party, therefore, was a large one; so that, if the driver had been an

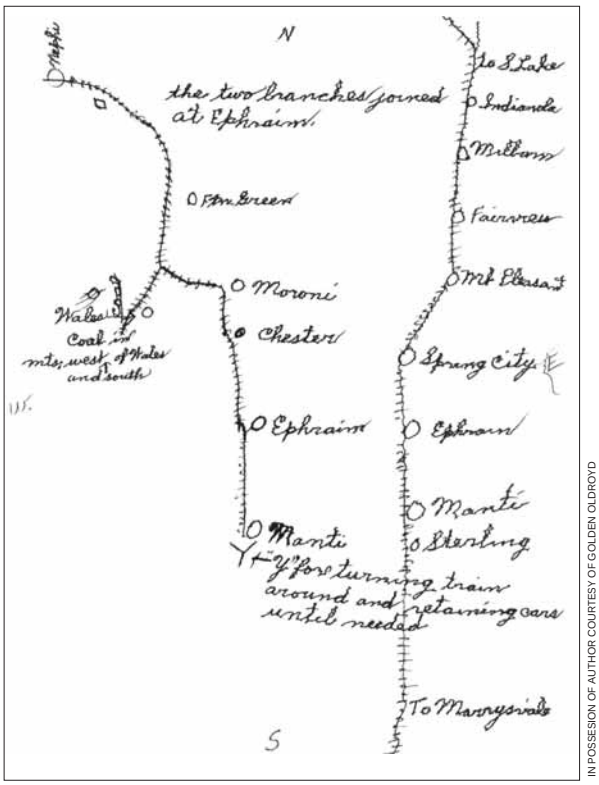
[12] Howard Fleming, Graham Hardy, and Paul Darrell, editors, *Narrow Gauge Railways in America (Including a List of Narrow Gauge Railways in America)* (Canton, Ohio: Railhead Publications, 1983) lists the Sanpete Valley Railway as completed in 1882.

[13] See Stephen L. Carr and Robert W. Edwards, *Utah Ghost Rails* (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1989), 166-67.

[14] Evidently based on obsolete information, a USGS topographic map (ca. 1889) shows the railroad line running eastward out of Juab Valley, up Salt Creek Canyon, and thence down into the Sanpete Valley to the communities of Fountain Green and Moroni, terminating at Wales. Even though the line to Wales was abandoned, either the track or railroad grade was evidently still in place when the map was initially surveyed, hence its inclusion on the map.

enthusiastic anti-Mormon, he might have struck a severe blow at the Church by tilting us off the rails."[15] As the train labored up the Salt Creek Cañon at a walk, Robinson had good reason to ponder train wrecks, for runaways were a common enough concern in those days of hand brakes and link-and-pin couplers.

Once across the pass, Robinson's train safely descended the canyon into the Sanpete Valley, which he described as ". . . desolate and uninteresting a tract of country as anything I have ever seen." Not content to leave this superlative as the last word, Robinson noted that "ugly bald hills and leprous sand-patches in the midst of sage-brush, combined to form a landscape of utter dreariness; and the little settlements lying away under the hills on the far eastern edge of the valley—Fountain Green, Maroni [*sic*], and Springtown—seemed to me more like penal settlements than voluntary locations." The only redeeming community here, according to Robinson, was Mount Pleasant, which ". . . looked as if it deserved the name." He characterized the rest of Sanpete Valley as "a hungry and thirsty looking country, and Wales, where we left our train, was a dismal spot."[16]



IN POSSESION OF AUTHOR COURTESY OF GOLDEN OLDROYD

Sanpete Valley Railway map, hand drawn by Golden Oldroyd, 1975. The Sanpete Valley Railway shown (left side) ran from Nephi to Manti. A Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad branch line (right side), ran from Thistle Junction to Marysvale.

Robinson's words were on my mind as I recently opened a box of letters written to me in the late 1960s and early 1970s by one of Sanpete Valley's most passionate supporters, the late Golden Oldroyd of Nephi, Utah. Born in the Sanpete Valley in 1904, Oldroyd had retired by 1969 when I first met him.[17] Oldroyd's forty-one-year career as a teacher had been followed by a

[15] Robinson, *Sinners and Saints*, 160-61.
[16] Ibid., 161-62
[17] This meeting occurred in June 1969 as I researched and wrote my doctoral dissertation on the

second career as motel owner in Nephi. Although he had lived much of his adult life in Nephi, Oldroyd claimed the people there were so "close" that they never considered him a native. For their part, the Nephites' reluctance to accept Oldroyd as a true native might have had as much to do with the fact that Oldroyd's heart was always in the Sanpete Valley. In a 1971 letter, Oldroyd humorously noted that even though Nephi prided itself on being a "Little Chicago"—"I doubt very much if Nephi would be so important if it weren't for Sanpete."[18]

Although Robinson had considered the Sanpete Valley to be desolate when he encountered it in the early 1880s, Oldroyd felt quite differently. To Oldroyd, the Valley was Edenic—a home that his ancestors had etched into the landscape.[19] This likely related not only to Oldroyd's being born in the semi-arid West, but also to the time period in which he first experienced the Sanpete Valley.

By the early twentieth century, irrigation had spread widely. A 1896 Rio Grande Western Railway promotional pamphlet titled "A Pointer to Prosperity—A Few Facts About the Climate and Resources of the New State of Utah" noted the transition that was taking place in the Sanpete Valley just before Oldroyd was born. The pamphlet observed that "San Pete Valley is the granary of Utah," adding, "there are 50,000 acres in the valley under cultivation, and twice as much more can be considered tillable." Although dry farmed "wheat and oats furnish the principal crops" here, the pamphlet noted that irrigation water was available, and that garden crops thrived.[20] The growing verdure of the Sanpete Valley was thus becoming more apparent by the beginning of the twentieth century. But Oldroyd's perception also related to the actual place within the Valley—Fountain Green—that he first experienced. Even though Fountain Green had failed to impress Robinson about twenty years earlier, its name suggests that he should have looked a bit more closely before pronouncing judgment. To this day, Fountain Green lives up to its euphonious name as a spring of cool, clear water constantly gushes from the flanks of the mountains just west of town.

It was obvious that the Sanpete Valley Railway figured heavily in Oldroyd's memories. Even though he was born well after the line was constructed in the early 1880s and widened to standard gauge toward the end of the century (1896—the same year Utah became a state), Oldroyd

Mormon Landscape at the University of Oregon. Mr. Oldroyd (as I always called him out of respect for our age difference despite our warm friendship) took a deep interest in my research.

[18] Undated letter from Golden Oldroyd to Richard Francaviglia and family, received November 9, 1971. Hereafter the letters from Golden Oldroyd and his wife Ada to the Francaviglia's are cited as Oldroyd with the date sent or received.

[19] Richard Francaviglia, *The Mormon Landscape: Existence, Creation, and Perception of a Unique Image in the American West* (New York: AMS Press, 1978).

[20] *Rio Grande Western Railway, A Pointer in Prosperity: A Few Facts About the Climate and Resources of the New State of Utah* (Salt Lake City: The Rio Grande Western Railway, 1896), 47-49.

related tales of its early years of operation. These he had gleaned from "old-timers," as he called the earlier generation. The letters written by Golden Oldroyd tell much about the region's lore. Written in a folksy style, they represent a treasure trove of recollections about the Sanpete Valley railroad and the landscape it traversed. In a 1973 letter he summarized his connection to the railroad:

> You said in one of your letters that you'd like to do some researsh [*sic*] on the old Sanpete R.R. As we go up the canyon we can still see some of it's [*sic*] bed. It has memories for me because I've not only ridden on it but I've weighed many loads of sugar beets. I think I did my share of pitching beets from the wagons into the cars for delivery to the Moroni (Peoples Sugar Factory.)[21]

Oldroyd's reference to sugar beets is a reminder that the valley that was once home to subsistence farmers had become a major producer of commercial irrigated crops by the 1910s.

In correspondence, as well as on our trips together into the Sanpete Valley, Oldroyd always stressed the railroad's intimate relationship with the communities along the line. Although capitalized in part by outsiders and experiencing changes in ownership over the years, the Sanpete Valley Railway was always closely connected to the local economy and culture. Robinson's colorful comments were not too far off the mark, for the Sanpete Valley Railway was a classically Mormon country railroad and most of its riders Latter-day Saints.

The Sanpete Valley Railway was said to have been completed in April 1882, just in time for Latter-day Saints to travel to the Church's General Conference in Salt Lake City. Like Utah territory itself, the Sanpete Valley Railway's early identity was closely associated with the thorny issue of polygamy. The railroad reportedly bore the nickname "The Polygamist Central" in reference to the alleged practice of the line's engineers blowing whistles in "a certain code that warned the townspeople that the marshals were aboard and suddenly the men disappeared."[22]

This association of the Sanpete Valley Railway with polygamy not only links it with place but anchors it in a time before the LDS church banned polygamy in 1890. However, it should be remembered that several other railroads either funded by Mormons or running deep into Mormon country also bore the name "Polygamist Central" or a very similar nickname. Consider the case of the Sumpter Valley Railway in eastern Oregon. Because "most of the stockholders and officials of the line and the lumber company were of the Mormon faith . . . . local wags were not slow in devising a nickname for the new shortline that was, it seemed to them, both descriptive and informative—the 'Polygamy Central.'"[23]

[21] Oldroyd, September 14, 1973.

[22] Stephen L. Carr and Robert W. Edwards, *Utah Ghost Rails* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Western Epics, 1989), 166.

[23] Frederick Shaw, Clement Fisher, Jr., and George Harlan, *Oil Lamps and Iron Ponies: A Chronicle of the Narrow Gauges* (San Francisco: Bay Books Ltd., 1949), 70. Careful readers will note that my sources claim-

The historical record does confirm that the whistle of the Sanpete Valley Railway train did indeed serve to communicate messages, even significant news, on occasion. The Sanpete Valley Railway train's whistle figures in a story related by Mr. Oldroyd, although this time it marked an international event rather than a warning to polygamists. "I remember that we were informed that the first World War had ended by the train," for "it started to whistle when it left Nephi and kept it up until it was out of sight down passed [*sic*] Moroni."[24] Just fourteen years old at the time, Oldroyd remembered this event for the rest of his life. It seemed exceptional to him, but that jubilant whistling was probably repeated on many railroad lines from coast to coast.

In the days before radio, the train whistle served as a form of communication that confirmed the railroad's importance to community life. That whistling suggests the train's ability to relay news to individuals with great speed, but this is ironic when one considers the folklore that later accumulated about the Sanpete Valley train's slow speed. As Gary Peterson and Lowell Bennion noted, the railroad was called, in addition to the "Polygamist Central," something that suggested its torpid pace—"The Creeper."[25] The name was appropriate. Typical of many shortlines with light rail and poor ballasting, the Sanpete Valley was notoriously slow. The Sanpete Valley train's legendary speed, and excuses about it, was confirmed by railroad historians Stephen L. Carr and Robert W. Edwards in 1998:

> One day as the mixed train was making its usual three to five mile-an-hour crawl up Salt Creek Canyon from Nephi (the average person is said to have walked faster), the conductor entered the coach and announced that the train would never make it to the top. Two cows on board had just produced calves and the extra weight would stop the train. [26]

This humorous story is significant for several reasons. First, it not only emphasizes the train's sluggish pace but also reveals that human travelers were subject to the whims of animals that were also transported, albeit in separate cars.[27] Secondly, it introduces an element of absurdity, for it is predicated on a physical impossibility—obviously, the weight hauled by the train would not change despite the birth of the calves. That absurdity might suggest something about the intelligence of the conductor, but it also suggests that the railroad's excuses for the train's slow speed were absurd, even illogical. This further suggests an awareness that the service was substandard. Then, too, there is the issue of passengers' reaction to the train's pace—

ing that these railroads were called Polygamist (or Polygamy) Centrals are not early, but rather from the last half of the twentieth century. I have, so far at least, not located any contemporary references to that term in the late nineteenth century.

[24] Oldroyd, received November 6, 1971.

[25] Peterson and Bennion, *Sanpete Scenes*, 41.

[26] Carr and Edwards, *Utah Ghost Rails*, 167.

[27] This actually occurred in the case of mixed trains that pulled cars for passengers and cars for freight—a common occurrence on the Sanpete Valley Railway.

growing impatience, perhaps, in light of growing expectations for faster service.

Stories about eccentric or illogical behavior on the part of otherwise normal people figure heavily in Central Utah folklore generally, and Sanpete Valley folklore in particular. "Joke-lore" might be a better term for good-natured but revealing stories such as the following about the Sanpete Valley Railway:

> When the Sanpete Valley Railroad finally came to Ephraim, the people were so elated that they gave the railroad company the right-of-way through their fields and made every possible effort to show their gratitude. When one of Noble Pete's cows jumped the fence and was killed by the train, Lawrence Rasmussen, the station agent, asked Pete if he thought thirty dollars would cover the costs and set matters right. Peter agreed that would be fine. Mr. Rasmussen, however, got a voucher for forty dollars to show the railroad's appreciation for the fast settlement. But when he brought it over to Noble Pete's home, Brother Peterson refused to accept it. He said, "Now Brodder Lawrence, you know perfectly vell dat I did not agree to pay forty dollars for de damage. I only agree to pay t'irty dollars."[28]

On the surface this story pokes gentle fun at the backcountry logic of a Scandinavian immigrant farmer. But at another level, it is a fable about responsibility—with a fascinating twist. In it, the Sanpete Valley Railway seeks to right a wrong quickly and generously. However, it is the slow-witted farmer who assumes responsibility. This story can be deciphered at several levels, but it is ultimately about relationships, especially corporate-individual relationships. Despite the damage done, the moral is clear—the Sanpete Valley Railway is playing fair, acting responsibly, in its dealing with locals. Although the railroad has an impact on rural life here, overall that impact is positive, not negative.

One suspects that the demise of Noble Pete's cow also resulted in another late run. An almost ever-present element in the local lore about the railroad was the train's tardiness. It is to this subject of the Sanpete Valley train's tardiness that I now return. Golden Oldroyd related the following: "The story has it that one passenger complained at the slowness of the train to the conductor. The conductor ordered him to get out and walk. To this, he replied that he would, but the folks didn't expect him until the train got there."[29] According to Oldroyd, the train was so slow that many people claimed they could actually walk faster than it, "thus the expression so commonly used, 'the Sanpete Swift.'"[30]

In another letter a few weeks later containing "one or two more things about the Old Sanpete train," Oldroyd related another tale about the railroad's legendary slowness: "When they got it rolling uphill out of Nephi

[28] William Jenson Adams, *Sanpete Tales: Humorous Folklore From Central Utah* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999), 42.

[29] Oldroyd, received November 6, 1971.

[30] Ibid. In the same letter, Oldroyd added " there was even a song about the slowness of the train and if I can ever find it I will send it. Get your vocal cords ready."

toward Ftn. Green half the crew would walk up the canyon with the coffee pot and have coffee ready when the train got to the top of the divide (about six or eight miles.) Thus, the name "Sanpete Coffee Pot."[31]

When used to describe a train, "Coffee Pot" is something of a term of endearment, for it in effect humanizes the technology. In Utah that reference to coffee is fascinating, for it always confirms the presence of the beverage whose consumption is formally prohibited (given devout Mormons' avoidance of coffee) but is in reality consumed by some otherwise devout Saints in this area. Thus the term "coffee pot" serves as a reminder of Gentile or "outside" forces that could penetrate to the very heart of Mormon country. Then, too, reference to coffee pot is also suggestive of something more mechanical and universal—a wheezing, hard working steam locomotive that, if not properly maintained, might leak steam from several joints. Tellingly, however, Oldroyd himself had some doubts about the accuracy of this story. In a witty reference to his Sanpete Valley allegiance, he added, "You understand that this is the Nephi version and is probably not right."[32]

Although locals' stories of a train's slow progress are often told with an aura of exceptionalism, the Sanpete Valley Railway had plenty of company when it came to a train's snail-like pace. Throughout the United States, locals often bragged that their trains were either the slowest, roughest riding, or most unpredictable. That explains the local tendency to translate the initials of a particular railroad company into some comical names. For example, Tonopah & Tidewater was branded the "Tired and Tardy," and the Ontario and Western was called the "Old and Weary" by locals. In a similar vein, the Sanpete Valley was called the "Slow Poke" by some—an irresistible moniker given the letters "S" and "P" in its namesake.

The tendency to criticize local trains is probably a worldwide phenomenon. South African novelist Bryce Courtenay described "a real little coffeepot" of a train on the branch line to Barberton that was chugging along next to a native woman sauntering alongside the tracks. When the engineer invited her to jump aboard one of the cars for a free ride, she declined, stating, "No thank you, baas, . . . today I am in a terrible big hurry."[33] Courtenay himself doubted that such an incident actually occurred, but it serves as a metaphor. Improvements in the speed of communications quickly affect our expectations, and it is easy to forget that the Sanpete Valley Railway's slow pace in the early twentieth century was the norm in the last quarter of the nineteenth century—just as e-mail communications today lead us to brand surface mail as "snail mail," and we become irritated by the slowness of computers that, just fifteen years ago, seemed miraculously fast.

[31] Oldroyd, November 26, 1971.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Bryce Courtenay, *The Power of One* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1989), 121-22.

It is telling that not only the pace, but also the naming, of trains varied from mainline to branch line. On the mainline, one found express trains, limiteds, and flyers—each word suggesting either outright speed and/or limited stops at communities. Consider the Overland Limited that raced into Utah and across the Great Basin, or in later years, the California Zephyr, classically inspired and named after the rushing west wind. Both of these speedy trains originated in either Chicago, or the San Francisco Bay area—two distant cities along routes that crossed Utah. The Overland Limited and the Zephyr were, in railroad parlance, "name trains."[34] By contrast, trains on branch lines were often called simply the "accommodation"—or, in the event that the train carried cars for both passengers and freight, the "mixed" train. Oldroyd observed that "the passenger car was at the end of the train and was divided so smokers could smoke. Mail was carried in this car (when there was any)."[35] The Sanpete Valley train was a classic "local," stopping at all towns.

Yet, what the Sanpete Valley's "accommodation" or "mixed" train lacked in speed and was denied in official terminology was more than compensated in local color. Consider the spurious name "Sanpete Flyer," which was sometimes applied to the Sanpete Valley Railway's train, but used especially for the D&RGW train that ran into the Sanpete Valley from Thistle. This name was both ironic and humorous, for flyer was derived from the named express trains, even though trains in the Sanpete Valley went about the mundane business of serving small communities at a proverbial snail's pace of about fifteen miles per hour. Through such terms of endearment, the railroad seamlessly became part of local folklore.

Along with its slow ride, the Sanpete Valley train was said to be very rough-riding. Oldroyd related:

> I do know for a fact though, that the passenger coach had stiff springs, if any, and a passenger on it could count the rails as the wheels would go over the expansion joints between them. That is, if the passenger was sitting directly over the wheel. I mean, if there was a passenger!! About every twenty feet the wheel would glide smoothly over the half inch joint. No iron there!!!! Just air!!!!![36]

The issue of sparse ridership suggested in Oldyroyd's quote was ominous, a reminder that patronage declined on these local trains as roads were improved. Notably, the issue of track construction had been of enough interest to Mr. Oldroyd for him to observe that "I think the rails for the tracks were 35 pound per foot and they were made in Wales, England."[37]

[34] The Overland Limited was a train operated by the Southern Pacific-Union Pacific in conjunction with the Chicago & North Western Railway farther east. The Zephyr was a train operated by the Denver & Rio Grande and the Western Pacific in the west, in conjunction with the Chicago Burlington & Quincy farther east.

[35] Oldroyd, November 6,1971.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid. Oldroyd evidently meant per yard here, as that is the way weight is normally measured for railroad rails.

Several sources confirm the rails' origin, some suggesting that the line's original iron rails were likely the last used on any railroad system as steel had superceded iron for railroad rails.

Like many area residents, Oldroyd remembered the Sanpete Valley Railway with a mixture of humor and affection that tied it to local events and wove it into the local economy. Consider this earthy recollection:

> When I went to Snow College in Ephraim I often went by train. ($1.00 from F[ountain]. G[reen]. to Ephraim). This was a long ride. The story has it that George Bradley, the conductor, always slept between towns. Moroni had a beet factory and the smell of the beet pulp was strong. He would always wake up and yell, "MORONI." In Ephraim they raised a lot of peas and sialage [*sic*] was equally stout. One day a lady was changing her baby where Chester is and he awoke and shouted "Ephraim."[38]

This is more than delightful bathroom humor. It subliminally links the Sanpete Valley railroad to the local economy of agricultural production and processing. Moreover, it embodies one of the common elements of humor, criticizing someone who serves in a role of authority yet becomes the butt of jokes; however, like many elements of local agrarian humor, it is playful and ultimately harmless.

In again remembering the Sanpete Valley train's sluggish pace, Oldroyd related another vignette: The same conductor (George Bradley) "always bought his eggs in Nephi. This particular day the lady who sold him eggs there had only eleven but she said there was a hen on the nest." Given the train's unpredictable schedule, however, the conductor was evidently not concerned: "We'll wait," he said, "for the chicken to lay the last egg before permitting the train to depart."[39] This holding of the train for the laying of an egg is fascinating. It further links the railroad to nature, and that in turn reminds the listener that the railroad was more sensitive to, which is to say more in tune with, the local scene, than those larger impersonal railroads.

Newspaper articles from the early 1890s reveal an interesting aspect of the line's operations. So closely tied to nature, or at least the seasons, was the Sanpete Valley Railway that it "shut down its line each year for the winter season, in about December of every year. Each April the road would be reopened for service."[40] That appears to have characterized the line before its expansion from Ephraim to Manti in 1893, but the memory of a railroad subject to the whims of nature seems to have persisted in the Valley's folklore until long after the line's final run.

The Sanpete Valley Railway is preserved not only in words but in images. In 1975 Mr. Oldroyd produced from memory a hand-drawn map of Sanpete Valley's railroads. On it, he depicts the railroad lines using the stylized symbol for tracks—a single line with cross marks—and also indicates the various towns' positions along those rail lines. He correctly shows

[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Strack, "Railroads in San Pete Valley, Utah," 7; Strack cites the *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, April 12, 1893.

GEORGE EDWARD ANDERSON, PHOTOGRAPHER. UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

After the Sanpete Valley Railroad converted to standard gauge, it bought these two locomotives.

the later Rio Grande Western line reaching into the valley from the northeast where it paralleled the Sanpete Valley Railway for a few miles before connecting with it at the junction in Ephraim. To Oldroyd, the most familiar trackage in the valley was that reaching north and northwest from Ephraim to Nephi. That line, the Sanpete Valley Railway, was Oldroyd's link to two worlds: his youth in the Sanpete Valley and his adult years in Juab County. At the time he drew the map with a ball point pen, Oldroyd, who was more than seventy years old and recovering from a serious illness, apologized for no longer handwriting letters, noting that "I'm so shaky that I can't write so you could read it so I'll try to type." [41]

In addition to producing a nearly accurate map of the Sanpete Valley Railway line, Mr. Oldroyd had located several rare photographs of the "Sanpete Flyer." Although the quality of the photographs varies, they present a remarkable record of the time when the railroad linked Nephi with the Sanpete Valley. Taken in about 1900, they reveal an age long gone when the railroad was the lifeline of small communities in this part of Utah. These photographs confirm that this railroad had the typical appearance of a shortline, with its small locomotives, light rail, and marginal track ballasting.

The photographs convey something of this railroad's personality, but particulars about them, such as the names of the railroaders pictured, are not available. One writer recalled that the Sanpete Valley Railway was ". . . fully as seedy and run down a looking railway now as it was when under independent ownership, and during the most checkered period of existence as the Sanpete Valley Railway." That same author recalled that the Sanpete Valley Railway ". . . was, withal, a boon to the people of the Sanpete Valley . . . ." and he also emphasized his "keen appreciation to the

[41] Oldroyd, December 12, 1975.

friendships established with the citizens" along the line during his twenty years' service with the company.[42]

As a youth, Oldroyd had experienced a small railroad line, independently run, that now became part of a larger corporation. The Sanpete Valley Railway line, however, still retained much of its character even when it was part of that larger regional carrier, the fabled Denver & Rio Grande Western. For some railroad historians, regional carriers like the D&RGW had considerably more character and personality than the huge railroad systems like the Southern Pacific and the Union Pacific.

In referring to the stories that Oldroyd related both personally and in letters—it is apparent that the railroad line remained geared to the slower lifestyle of the Sanpete Valley until its demise in 1931. But for Oldroyd, the railroad was much more than that. It was a thread of sorts with which he could measure time and embroider his life with a tapestry of pleasant memories. In a letter dated September 14, 1973, he noted, "I had a lot of fun telling yarns but mine wouldn't hold a candle to some."[43] Being quite humble, that seemed true to him. However, Oldroyd's stories in person and his many letters prove otherwise.

Golden Oldroyd was very fond of one of America's greatest storytellers, Will Rogers who died in an airplane accident in 1935. According to Oldroyd, both he and Rogers were Democrats. While Rogers knew many fellow Democrats across the country, Oldroyd joked that he thought he was the only Democrat in Juab County. Recalling his admiration for Rogers in a letter written years later, Mr. Oldroyd expressed the sentiment that, "Its too bad that he [Will Rogers] wasn't on the Sanpete train instead of the plane that day."[44] That sentiment is significant, for it not only suggests a safety inherent in railroad travel, but underscores the virtues of staying close to home to avoid peril.

In one of his most memorable letters, Oldroyd related several stories of events along the old Sanpete Valley Railway that linked it to long-vanished activities of its namesake valley. These included going to the Fountain Green depot to pick up empty returned milk cans. He also recalled harvesting ice along with obtaining sawdust in which to store it in Fountain Green in the early 1900s. Oldroyd was both a perceptive recorder of events and philosophical about their context in time.[45] There was more than a bit of nostalgia in Oldroyd's recollections. The Sanpete Valley's topography suggests sequestering from the perils of modernity, and Oldroyd definitely felt its role in preserving both the character of place and the "olden days" as he called them.

[42] "Utah Railroads," in Kate B. Carter, comp., *Our Pioneer Heritage* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1967) 10: 170-71.

[43] Oldroyd, September 14, 1973.

[44] Ibid., November 26, 1971.

[45] Ibid.,September 14, 1973.

ALMA CHASE PHOTOGRAPH, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Edwin Robert Booth residence, Nephi, circa 1910. Nephi was the northern terminus for the Sanpete Valley Railway.

If this sounds a bit idyllic, one need only recall the Rio Grande Western Railway's 1896 characterization of this valley and its residents: "The average wealth of the citizens of the Sanpete Valley may not be great in money, but they all have the means of sustaining a comfortable livelihood and many of them are nabobs in a small way and are surrounded by all the comforts of life and many of its luxuries." This seeming hyperbole was at least partially true. Oldroyd himself would have agreed with the railroad's summary statement that "their lives are passed in peace and quietude, in the midst of fertile fields, surrounded by magnificent mountains in a healthful climate."[46]

One of Golden Oldroyd's last letters contained the words to a song about the Sanpete Valley whose last stanza evidently summarized his feelings perfectly.

> And I'm going back one of these days
> Back to the place where I was raised
> Yes, back to Sanpete I'm proud to say
> The best damn spot in the USA.[47]

Golden Oldroyd never did send the lyrics to the song about the Sanpete Valley train, and lamented that he was unable to send a photograph promised by a relative who had been a fireman on the Denver and Rio Grande noting that, "they didn't send me the picture of the Sanpete train and I'm sorry." Perhaps his relatives had simply forgotten to send him the photo and had planned to do so in the future. Nevertheless, he was deeply troubled, adding, "Maybe they couldn't find it. I wish they'd send it to me because they said they would."[48] And with those words, my treasured correspondence to Golden Oldroyd about the railroad, and its Sanpete Valley namesake ends. Mr. Oldroyd died in August 1978.

In retrospect, the Sanpete Valley Railway was not as "curious" as Philip Robinson or Golden Oldroyd might have believed. Its informality was fairly typical of the former narrow gauge lines that threaded their way into the valleys of the Intermountain West. As related in the wonderful stories of Robinson and Oldroyd, however, the Sanpete Valley Railroad emerges as a

[46] *Rio Grande Western Railway, A Pointer to Prosperity*, 49.
[47] Oldroyd, November. 26, 1971.
[48] Oldroyd, December 12, 1975.

railroad with personality, even eccentricity. It is interesting to note that such smaller lines retained much of their character—perhaps became even more associated with a delightful quirkiness—at just the time that the larger railroad lines were becoming more efficient, business-like, and impersonal. That helped endear the smaller railroad lines, and their memory, to posterity.

Today, the Sanpete Valley Railway's old right of way does not appear on DeLorme's detailed Atlas of Utah.[49] The modern-day motorist driving between Nephi and the Sanpete Valley has little awareness of the railroad line that for half a century hauled passengers and freight up over the summit of Salt Creek Canyon. And yet, as Oldroyd and others have noted, a traveler's discerning eye can indeed detect, here and there, traces of this line—the scar of an old rock cut, the tell-tale grading of an old railroad right of way now overgrown with sagebrush, juniper, and piñon pines, a swath along the edge of a field in the floor of Sanpete Valley. In many places, however, motorists drive on a highway laid directly on top of the railroad's right of way, so that all traces here have, in effect, disappeared. Historical archaeologists now inventory such sub-surface evidence, while virtually all traces of this railroad "above ground"—such as depots, sheds, water tanks and the like—vanished long ago. However, through oral histories as well as the written record, railroads like the Sanpete Valley live on long after their last runs, offering glimpses, sometimes humorous, always affectionate, of a vanished way of life.

[49] Utah Atlas & Gazetteer: New Enhanced Topography, Topo Maps of the Entire State, Public Lands, Back Roads (Yarmouth, ME: DeLorme Publishing Company, 2000).

Mormon Mavericks: Essays on Dissenters Edited by John Sillito and Susan Staker

(Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2002. 376 pp. $21.95.)

THE PUBLISHER AND EDITORS have brought together thirteen biographical sketches and one autobiography, written between 1973 and 2001 by a group of competent historians, who, in these articles, provide readers with much Mormon history between 1833 and the present. These biographies of five women and ten men review many interesting details of their controversial lives.

A common characteristic of these "Mormon Mavericks" has been their pursuit of truth, which for some had led them into Mormonism in the first place. Most were devoted members, often with years of dedicated LDS church service. Problems arose for them when the claims and teachings or conduct of Church leadership conflicted with their own understanding of the "facts" of history and their "sense" of truth.

Their choices brought them consequences ranging from apostasy and excommunication, or disfellowshipment and inactivity to quiescent doubting that allowed a few to continue to wear their "cloak" of Mormonism.

Loretta Hefner in "From Apostle to Apostate: the Personal Struggle of Amasa Mason Lyman" discusses his conversion, missionary work, and calling as Apostle (1842), and his subsequent shifting beliefs resulting from his exposure to Spiritualism and the Godbeites. His "quest" resulted in his excommunication in 1870. In "John E. Page: Apostle of Uncertainty," John Quist follows him from convert in 1833 and successful missionary, to his call as Apostle in 1838. Page accepted Brigham Young and the Quorum of Twelve as Joseph's successor then shifted to James Strang, then to John Colin Brewster, and later Granville Hedrick. He settled finally on a "spiritual compass" that "pointed inward rather than outward."

Richard and Mary Van Wagoner in "Sarah M. Pratt: the Shaping of an Apostate" reveal a woman with high moral values, whose commitment to Mormonism was eroded by polygamy, first in Nauvoo with Joseph Smith's "proposition," and further by her husband Orson's plural marriages (ten). Though she remained with the Church she did not believe, and so taught her children. Excommunication came in 1874. "William Smith: Problematic Patriarch" is given a more balanced image by Irene Bates. She sees his claim of "Patriarch to the Church" as legitimate. Charges of

"licentiousness" and "violence" against him were also made against his brother Joseph. Bates suggests that William is more fairly judged by the standards of his time than by later critics.

Ronald Walker, "The Stenhouses and the Making of a Mormon Image," reviews the Stenhouses' conversion, missionary work, and trek to Zion where they embraced Mormonism fully. "Polygamy" led to Fanny's disillusionment. Thomas was attracted to Spiritualism and the Godbeites which cemented his anti-Brigham and anti-Mormon stance. Walker credits Fanny's *Tell It All*, and TBH's *Rocky Mountain Saints* with both national and international influence on the "Mormon Image." In "King James Strang: Joseph Smith's Successor," William Russell notes Strang's grandiosity even before his conversion to Mormonism. After Strang declared he was the Prophet's successor, his religious career mimicked that of the Mormon founder, including organization, revelations, translations, polygamy, and death at the hands of enemies in 1856.

Edward Leo Lyman, "The Alienation of an Apostle from His Quorum: the Case of Moses Thatcher," claims that Thatcher's troubles with George Q. Cannon and other Quorum members began with the purchase of Bullion Beck Mine stock. That conflict escalated with his unwillingness to "submit to counsel" on political prerogatives. His decisions led to his loss of Quorum standing in 1896.

In "Fawn McKay Brodie and her Quest for Independence," Newell Bringhurst presents a brilliant young woman not satisfied with her devout father's or Church's answers to her questions. At the University of Chicago she would meet her husband to be and write her powerful biography of Joseph Smith, *No Man Knows My History*. She stated later that her work was a "desperate effort to come to terms with my childhood." Her biography still remains important. Levi Peterson, in "Juanita Brooks as a Mormon Dissenter," sees an "insider dissenter." Her commitment to her Church remained second only to her commitment to truth and to accurate history. The *Mountain Meadows Massacre* book was her bold effort to tell the truth at the risk of membership in the Church. Ironically, her version of that tragedy is now accepted by the Church, generally.

"Thomas Stuart Ferguson and the Book of Mormon Archeology," by Stan Larson looks at Ferguson's life and "passion." He wanted to prove that the Book of Mormon was real history, Joseph Smith's prophetic calling, and Jesus Christ's divinity. His monumental efforts bore few fruits. With the discovery of the Pearl of Great Price Papyri, his disillusionment was complete. He chose

to remain within the "fold" because he loved being a Mormon.

In Brigham Madsen's "Sterling McMurrin: a Heretic but not an Apostate," the author reveals McMurrin's Mormon heritage and its influences on his life and thinking, his career through college, teaching within the Church system, the "Swearing Elders" group, and subsequent threats of excommunication, until his opponents found he had a friend in David O. McKay. McMurrin hoped his own honest "commentary" would somehow improve Mormonism's potential for doing good. Richard Cracroft sees "Samuel Wooley Taylor: Maverick Mormon Historian" as a very talented writer and historian who was willing to "tweak" the "blue noses" of his too serious Mormon friends and readers. Taylor, ever the maverick, was a deeply committed Mormon. He saw his role as writer, not destroyer of "faith," nor prophet.

In "DNA Mormon: D. Michael Quinn," Lavina Fielding Anderson writes an emotional account of this brilliant and dedicated historian and gay man. She reviews his early interest in history, his schooling and decision to return to BYU to teach, and his forced resignation. Despite hostility from some Church leaders, Quinn elected integrity—to his profession, and (he thought) to his Church. With his excommunication, the dilemma of being a "faithful" Mormon and a professional historian was resolved.

In the Epilogue, Esther E. Peterson talks about "The World beyond the Valley." She discusses how her early Mormon roots translated into her commitment to social issues with labor, women's rights, and political involvement with three U.S. presidents. When asked: "Are you a Mormon?" she responded: "You decide."

Readers too can ask: "Are these Mavericks Mormons?" Their loss to Mormonism is surely Mormonism's loss.

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Boundaries Between: The Southern Paiutes, 1775–1995 By Martha C. Knack

(Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001. xi + 471 pp. Cloth, $50.00.)

MARTHA KNACK IS A UNIQUE FIGURE amongst Great Basin academics. She is a superb ethnohistorian and she is a true wordsmith; she can write! *Boundaries Between* is her long awaited opus dealing with Paiute/non-Paiute interethnic relations. Dr. Knack has gleaned the federal documents and other records as thoroughly as the destitute Paiutes once gleaned Mormon fields.

This book focuses on how a particular form of social, economic and political relations that I have characterized as "paternalistic dependency" became institutionalized in Utah, Nevada and Arizona.

Knack deals with the actions of Mormons, miners and the federal authorities and the consequences of those actions in a convincing fashion. She emphasizes the effects of the settlers on the ground rather than demonizing some faraway federal policy makers. *Boundaries Between* begs us to look at the "subtle stuff" of cultural conflict: the day-to-day events in the lives of settlers and Paiutes. She investigates the subtle structures created when access is denied to traditional use areas, water diverted to use by the settlers, mining, grazing and the insidious erosion of Paiute self-respect and traditional culture through paternalism. Dr. Knack poses the question of "who benefitted from the displacement of the Paiutes" and her resounding answer is the local whites. The Paiutes were defenseless in the face of the overwhelming coercive force of the settlers but they were not helpless. This book explains the Paiute adaptation to this asymmetrical situation and is not simply a narrative chronological history. The Paiutes' approach to survival reminds this reviewer of Liddell Hart's famous book *Strategy* in which he advocates an "indirect approach" to dislocate an enemy psychologically. At every critical turn of events, one sees the fundamental Paiute strategy is to avoid direct conflict.

Chapter One is short and dense. Knack produces a highly readable theoretical vision. Any reader would profit by looking carefully at her discussion of ethnic boundaries on pages 5-7. She sees ethnic boundaries as "creative interfaces" where acculturation and transformation occur and debunks the shibboleth that without beads, bows, and buckskins, Indian culture is dead.

In Chapter Two Dr. Knack offers a clear and meticulous explanation of the lifestyle of foragers and part-time horticulturalists in the Great Basin. Her discussion of the adaptive functions of kinship, seasonal movement, situation-specific leadership and reciprocity is fresh and invigorating. The flexibility and adaptability of their foraging strategy that served the Paiutes in pre-historical past proved useful to their survival under Mormon domination and continue to insure their survival as a distinct people foraging in the global economy.

Chapters three though six outline the relations between trappers, Mormons and miners and the Paiutes. Knack chronicles the decline of the Paiute's ability to feed themselves as their land and resources are appropriated by the white settlers. These

chapters dramatically show how Federal policies toward the Paiutes were based on false assumptions from the beginning. Anglo miners and Mormons preempted the Paiutes from taking autonomous actions in their own behalf.

Chapters seven through nine take us on a tour of Paiute-Anglo history from the 1890s through World War II. During this time-period, the influence of the Mormons slowly waned and that of the federal government slowly waxed. What struck me most in these chapters was how the local Bureau of Indian Affairs agents played second-fiddle to the local Anglo settlers.

The current ascendency of federal power is clearly illustrated in chapters ten through twelve. Here we see the Paiutes' use of the "indirect strategy" to survive termination in the 1950s, rebound with a tribal entity in the 1960s and 70s and emerge once again as a federally-recognized tribe in the 1980s.

Criticism? Her focus on interethnic issues puts *Boundaries Between* on the summit of current ethnohistory: it does not get any better than *Boundaries Between*. However, one wonders if there will come a time that description and theory can be more profitably joined than it is in contemporary scholarship. I wish that she would have developed Barth's ethnic boundaries ideas more overtly within each chapter and spent more of her considerable analytic ability on the Paiute strategy of conflict avoidance. Knack seems to treat all events equally: the diversion of water seems to have the same weight as the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Perhaps this is ultimately so, but I longed for a theoretical justification. Theory (unless dealing with sex or violence) does not seem to sell, and publishers consistently want theoretical chapters slimmed down or dispensed with altogether.

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The Lady in the Ore Bucket: A History of Settlement and Industry in the Tri-Canyon Area of the Wasatch Mountains By Charles L. Keller (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2001. xi + 426 pp. $45.00.)

AS WE MOVE INTO THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY some element associated with the Wasatch Front canyons appears almost daily in the local press. Whether they are utilized for commercial or non-commercial recreation, for housing or

transportation, or for their priceless watershed values for constantly expanding communities, the canyons emerging from the Wasatch Range are important to every individual who resides in the valleys beneath the snow-capped summits.

Charles Keller's book *The Lady in the Ore Bucket* is must reading for anyone and everyone interested in the past and the future of the Wasatch Front canyons.

Keller commences with a brief introduction describing the pre-pioneer history of early Utah explorations by such notables as Francisco Atanazio Dominguez and Silvestre Velez de Escalante, Andrew Henry and William H. Ashley, Jedediah Smith, and John C. Fremont. Descriptions of California bound routes through the Wasatch Mountains follow. The July 22, 1847, entry into Salt Lake Valley of the first contingent of Mormon settlers sets the stage for Keller's detailed accounts of Wasatch Mountain settlements and exploitations. This book focuses on Mill Creek, Big, and Little Cottonwood canyons—today commonly known as the Tri-Canyons.

The first four chapters deal with lumber production in Neffs Canyon and the three drainages to its south. Keller's text deals not only with business operations, agreements, and partnerships, but also with the human side of lumber cutting in the Wasatch. With today's frequent news accounts of cell phone summoned mountain rescues via helicopter, it's difficult to imagine what it took to obtain medical aid in the nearby mountains during the mid-1800s. Keller's discovery and publication of Robert Gardner's Mill Creek Canyon lumber slide accident reminds us of hardships endured by early settlers.

The next five chapters deal with the discovery of valuable ores in the Tri-Canyons, their exploitation, and how producing mines often "became pawns of promoters, schemers, and manipulators whose interests were far removed from the business of mining" (128). It's easy to draw an eerie parallel to recent trends in Utah's ski industry, where development of ski resorts often has more to do with real estate speculation than it does with skiing.

Keller's numerous descriptions of mining facilities include what he calls "one of the more spectacular man-made achievements in the Wasatch," the 1,500 ft. jig-back Reed and Benson ore tramway that ascended—via a 45 degree trestle—a ridge in Big Cottonwood Canyon (208). Keller's intimate knowledge of Wasatch mine workings isn't limited to accounts gleaned from archives. I once ran into "Charlie" while on a hike in Cardiff Fork. On our joint descent he pointed out several features—

including long-overgrown ore hauling cables—that most canyon hikers pass without notice.

Keller describes various timber harvesting and mining era disasters, everything from severed limbs at lumber mills, to boiler explosions and fires. His accounts of 120 pre-twentieth century Tri-Canyons avalanche fatalities is the most thorough documentation of White Death hazards faced by canyon occupants. Several romances are included in *Lady*, as well as an occasional shooting. Keller dismisses the popularized notion of Alta as a wild and violent mining camp.

Throughout his book, Keller educates the reader about early land management policies, and the means individuals used to obtain portions of the nearby Wasatch. He describes the evolution of early canyon toll roads, homesteading, organization of mining districts, and operation of the General Land Office. The establishment of the national forests in the Wasatch is also discussed.

Lady includes a chapter on early canyon recreation—primarily at Brighton—and a short chapter on development of water resources. Each of the final three chapters deals with canyon names and places. No, Gad Valley was not named after a miner's exclamation of "Gad, what a valley!" Keller believes a gad, a miner's tool used to break up ore, served as basis for the name. These three chapters total an impressive eighty-two pages. *Lady* contains a dozen contemporary topographical maps overprinted with locations discussed in the text; it also contains sixty pages of reference citations.

Charles Keller took pride in obtaining photographs to illustrate visually the facilities described. The publisher did a disservice by failing to embed illustrations at the point in the text where they are pertinent. In one case, a "then and now" photo pair was made ineffective by placement of the historical component at the bottom of one page and the contemporary component at the top of the following page. With modern computerized editing and layout techniques such thoughtless treatment of illustrations seems inexcusable.

In his preface Keller states that his research evolved from "casual exploration" to an "obsession" and that he chose to confine his text to nineteenth century history in order "to explore those activities before their traces grow even more faint"(x). We should all celebrate Charles Keller's obsession and the exceptionally thorough documentation of early Tri Canyons history evident in *The Lady in the Ore Bucket*.

ALEXIS KELNER
Salt Lake City

Grace and Grandeur: A History of Salt Lake City By Thomas G. Alexander

(Carlsbad, California: Heritage Media Corporation, 2001. 276 pp. $54.95.)

GRACE AND GRANDEUR is in a format that has become quite common today as publishers or chambers of commerce promote city, county, and business histories. There is a short history of the area presented at the front of the book and a section toward the back that has uncritical short histories of the businesses that are featured in the book. The general practice is to sell pages to the businesses for their histories that allows them to essentially advertise their business along with a short history. It is this advertising that provides the up front money for publication of the book. This book was published to catch the market for the Salt Lake City 2002 Winter Olympics, which is shown by the timely publication date and the number of pages devoted to skiing and winter sports.

The book is 276 pages in length with the first 123 pages of the history of Salt Lake City and its environs—including the ski areas. The historical part is divided into six chapters of approximately 20 pages each. The chapters are: "The Creation of a Mormon Commonwealth," "The Americanization of a Latter-day Saint Commonwealth," "The Progressive City," "Depression and War," "Salt Lake City and Its Hinterland," and "The Face of a Mature City." These are all topics that Tom Alexander is familiar with, and has written about many times before. The historical text is more of a historical essay, but a very valuable one at that because of the author's vast knowledge of Salt Lake City history. It should be noted that even though the text is not footnoted, there are extensive bibliographies for each chapter at the end of the book. There is also an abundance of pictures, many of them published for the first time.

Where the author makes important up-to-date historical interpretations is in dealing with the Native American culture, the politics of Salt Lake City, and important for the Olympic period, a rather significant number of pages tell the history and economic development of skiing in the hinterland of Salt Lake City.

The second section of the book, pages 124 to 263, is presented as "Partners in Salt Lake City," and contains the histories of sixty-six major businesses or organizations in Salt Lake City. The "Partners in Salt Lake City" section is divided into nine groups of businesses. For instance, the first group is "Building a Greater Salt Lake City," which has six companies with their short histories and

a description of their business specialties. Among those listed in this first category are Granite Mill, Standard Builders Supply, and Ralph L. Wadsworth Construction Company. Another category is "Manufacturing and Distribution," which includes companies such as Associated Food Stores, O. C. Tanner, and A & Z Produce. Another section is "Quality of Life," which has eleven organizations listed, including the Episcopal Diocese and Friends, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the University of Utah, and the Utah State Historical Society. The business section continues listing the other sixty-six businesses.

This book is valuable as a quick summary of the history of Salt Lake City, and the business section is useful as a sampling of many of the important companies in the Salt Lake City area. It should be pointed out that *Grace and Grandeur* is more of a chamber of commerce approach to history than a scholarly work. With that in mind *Grace and Grandeur* does make a contribution to the overall understanding of the history of Salt Lake City.

RICHARD C. ROBERTS
Professor Emeritus
Weber State University

A Winter with the Mormons: The 1852 Letters of Jotham Goodell

Edited by David Bigler (Salt Lake City: The Tanner Trust Fund, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, 2001. xxii + 242 pp. $29.95.)

AMONG THE MOST DIFFICULT TASKS confronting students of Utah history is comprehending the difference between the Mormonism of the mid-nineteenth century and the Mormonism of the present. For example, James Arrington's imitation of Brigham Young portrays him as a bearded Gordon Hinckley — mainstream, patriotic, patient, cheerful, and presiding over a benignly common people of high religious principles. Lost in all this presentism is the fiercely defiant millenarianism of early Mormons, their deep suspicions of outsiders, their aberrant social experiments, and their abiding confidence in the imminent demise of the United States. Modern Mormons' devotion to placid Christianity, social conservatism, and middle-class values has wiped away virtually all visible remnants of their antecedents' radical incarnation.

Untying this knot is not as easy as it may seem. Simply resorting

to historical writings often bogs the effort in a swamp of interpretation. Were early Mormons ordinarily decent folks persecuted for their unpopular religious beliefs? Or were they aggressive fanatics who brought on their own troubles by their unacceptable behaviors? Both views and everything in between are abundant in the uncountable volumes of history and commentary that have come forth in more than a century and a half of debate among scholars and polemicists. Even a hard look at the primary record provides plenty of fodder for those who would defend Mormonism or for those who would condemn it.

The republication of this stack of anti-Mormon letters is instructive to the point. In late 1851 into 1852, one in a series of many storms of political controversy broke over the so-called Mormon question. Run-away federal appointees began to broadcast their anger at how they had been treated in Utah, as well as to describe shocking scenes of depravity they had discovered during their sojourn with Young's followers. Among many others at the time who then decided to weigh in heavily on the anti-Mormon side was a forty-three-year-old national chauvinist and self-righteous preacher from Ohio, who had spent the winter of 1850-51 in Utah. Waylaid there while leading a party of emigrants to Oregon, Jotham Goodell suffered so many indignities and saw so much villainy while in Utah that he unleashed a horrific barrage on the Mormons with nine prolix letters published in *The Oregonian* (Portland) between April and June 1852.

Not surprisingly, the principal outrage the Rev. Goodell hoped to illuminate was Mormon polygyny, which he saw as nothing more than blatant licentiousness. Perhaps more interesting, however, are his lengthy observations on the overreaching power of the Mormon priesthood and the willingness of Young and his cohorts to exercise it brutally and arrogantly. The nine letters describe a theocracy completely contemptuous of human rights, overly zealous in its condemnation of its enemies, and utterly anti-American. Goodell presents himself as someone who came to his opinions slowly and even reluctantly as he dealt with Mormon leaders such as Lorin Farr, head of the Mormon settlement at Ogden, not far from where Goodell's party camped for the winter. It is nevertheless clear that by the time he wiped the dust of Utah from his boots in March 1851, he had come to the conclusion that Mormonism was a noxious blight on the face of the earth and that its leaders were among the most despicable villains ever to disgrace the Republic.

Doing the highly laudable service of republishing these letters in

a very handsome and scholarly edition, David Bigler has engaged in a labor of love, for he among few other students of Utah history has seen for himself with righteous satisfaction the maleficence of "the Forgotten Kingdom" of Mormon theocracy. Bigler would have readers believe wholesale Goodell's side of the story, as if to say, "Well, there you have it. Early Mormons were an awful lot, so their religion must be an awful delusion." But after reading Goodell's letters (a very instructive and worthwhile task), one should take a good dose of castor oil to expel all the bile and then get the other side of the story by reading Jeddy Grant's 1852 letters to the *New York Herald*. Even then, the knot will remain tightly tied.

GENE A. SESSIONS
Weber State University

The Black Regulars, 1866–1898 By William A. Dobak and Thomas D. Phillips

(Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001. xvii + 360 pp. $34.95.)

WILLIAM A. DOBAK AND THOMAS D. PHILLIPS are co-authors of *The Black Regulars, 1866-1898*. Dobak earned his Ph.D. in American Studies from Kansas University in 1955 and has worked at the U.S. Army Center of Military History and the National Archives in Washington, D.C. He is also the author of *Ft. Riley and its Neighbors* (1998), the title and subject of his doctoral dissertation. Mr. Phillips wrote parts of the narrative while a graduate student at the University of Wisconsin where he earned his Master of Science.

Their book proposes to tell the story of post-Civil War black enlisted men from the time they signed on, to discharge, and what happened to them thereafter. Dobak and Phillips' project was not a modest undertaking. Although additional information is uncovered from time to time, and others were willing to make them the subjects of their correspondence, black soldiers themselves did not leave behind much information about life in the military. As has been the case with other researchers, Dobak and Phillips relied upon observations made by members of the press, persons who recorded court martial testimony, and others who often made a part of their living completing pension applications for soldiers or for their survivors.

The Congressional Act of March 3, 1866, provided that black Americans would continue to be employed as part of the nation's military apparatus and explicitly promoted a "permanent" black pres-

ence in the regular army for the first time—arguably—in American history. Blacks had always fought in the nation's wars, but retired to civilian life after hostilities ceased. This was not unusual, however, because the majority of cavalrymen and infantrymen—black, white, and Indian—were citizen soldiers, volunteers and not regulars.

The 1866 commitment by the United States Congress to maintain black regiments withstood an 1869 reduction in the number of standing forces and general reorganization of the United States Army. This reshuffling of the troops left four regiments made up of black enlisted men and white officers in the regular army, the bulk of which, of course, was made up of white regulars.

In 1870 the U.S. Army initiated the practice of stationing black troopers in the West. In that year the Ninth Cavalry and Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Infantry regiments were stationed in Texas. The Tenth Cavalry was stationed in Kansas and the Indian Territory. Prior to 1900, the famous Ninth Cavalry wound its way through Texas, Colorado, New Mexico, Kansas, Indian Territory, Nebraska, Wyoming, and Utah.

Dobak and Williams have gathered an impressive amount of information about black soldiers, and about the army in general in the final quarter of the 19th century. Not only is their review of the literature adequate, but they have examined pension index files of black soldiers—citing over forty actual cases. They have looked in even greater depth at the court martial files of a relatively substantial number of black soldiers. Although other authors have looked at registers of enlistments, declarations for pensions, marriage certificates, death certificates, applications for reimbursement, muster rolls, and the like, the systematic identification and use of these sources are important contributions. Their use of Group 94 letters sent and received has also gone beyond the reach of other researchers. It is difficult not to be impressed with the authors' knowledge of the military. They have gained considerable authority as a result of groundbreaking research.

There are, however, a few points that need to be addressed. Beyond being repetitious, the book also tends towards a regional parochialism. Although troops of the Ninth Cavalry and the Twenty-fourth Infantry regiment were stationed in Utah for a combined total of 18 years and were the subjects of an unpublished doctoral dissertation and at least two journal articles, the authors do not cite these works. Nor do they use a bank of newspapers—*Eastern Utah Telegraph*, *Salt Lake Herald*, *Salt Lake Tribune*, *Vernal Utah Express*, *The Plain Dealer*, and *Broad Ax* (both of the latter Salt Lake City black newspapers)—that regularly

reported on post events and continued to follow the activities of black soldiers even after they left the state.

The evidence that the authors put forth in support of their argument that "expedience and economy" were the factors that led to the decision to award blacks a permanent place in the U.S. Army is not persuasive. In my judgment, the available evidence clearly agrees with the observation made by Captain Matthew F. Steele when he wrote in the *North American Review* (1906) that "the purpose of the law, unquestionably, was to assure a civic right to the newly enfranchised citizen…" Moreover, Dobak and Phillips assert that the argument that black soldiers suffered from systematic racism is a myth and that the "dusky" gentlemen were not discriminated against by the army "in matters of food, housing, clothing, and equipment." The authors do not succeed in making the case for an equalitarian nineteenth century army.

Finally, in an assertion that is likely to be remembered long after the title of the book is forgotten, the authors argue that the black regulars do not deserve to be regarded as "elite" units and that black soldiers regarded being called "buffalo soldiers" an insult. A Ninth Cavalry troop mounted on all black horses, basking in the open admiration of onlookers and the volunteers in the malaria camps in Cuba deserve to be called and were elite units. In 1899, when told that striking miners in Idaho had made a threat to kill members of the Twenty-fourth infantry, a member of the unit told a reporter for the *Salt Lake Tribune* that he believed that the miners would "change their mind when they saw the 'buffalos with their Krags.'" Here was a person who was proud to be known as a "buffalo soldier" and proud of his Krag-Jorgensen rifle as well.

MICHAEL J. CLARK
California State University, Hayward

Great Salt Lake: An Anthology Edited by Gary Topping (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2002. 276 pp. $19.95.)

FIRST TIME VISITORS TO UTAH are usually intrigued by two natural wonders: the Mormon people and their polygamous background; and one of the most prominent physical features in the state, the Great Salt Lake. While the first is well known, the second has not received the attention it deserves. Gary Topping has done a very creditable job in highlighting the wonders of this great inland sea.

His *Great Salt Lake: An Anthology* fills a void too long overlooked. The book is organized under seven major topics. The first is "An Overview of the Great Salt Lake" with famed Utah writer, Dale L. Morgan, contributing the introductory essay. The second section is titled, "Natives and Newcomers" with articles on "Prehistoric Indians" by former state archeologist, David B. Madsen; "Mountain Men," Jedediah S. Smith's personal account of his southwest expeditions; and a relevant portion of Osborne Russell's "Journal of a Trapper…Among the Rocky Mountains." A third subdivision examines John C. Fremont's famous "Report" and his exploration of the Great Salt Lake island which bears his name; Captain Howard Stansbury's very important and quite readable 1850 exploration and survey of the Lake; and Topping's own look at "The Infamous Hastings Cutoff." Number four of the series includes Wallace Stegner's brief and highly entertaining essay on Corinne with a subtitle from Brigham D. Madsen's book "Corinne: The Gentile Capital of Utah;" then two pieces concerned with people who chose to inhabit two of the islands: Marlin Stum's "Grazing and Living on Antelope Island" and Alfred Lambourne who homesteaded Gunnison Island. For a lighter touch the editor next chooses to describe "A Pleasure Palace on the Great Salt Lake" by Nancy D. McCormick and John S. McCormick; "Speed on Salt," a description of "Racing on the Bonneville Salt Flats" by Jessie Embry and Ron Shook; and "Boats on the Lake," a brief history of "Salt and Steam: Great Salt Lake's Boats and Boatbuilders."

For readers inclined toward mystery and the arts, next there is a section devoted to "Weird Weather, Odd Creatures, and a Vanishing Act," and an article by Don Egan, "Coming Around: First a Joke, Then a Jewel for the Guys Who Built the 'Spiral Jetty.'" The final contribution has two entries: "Refuge: An Unnatural History of Family and Place" by Terry Tempest Williams, and "The Lake at a Crossroads" by Jim Woolf, Heather May, and Glen Warchol.

The editor starts with a very readable and interesting "Introduction" to place his selections in perspective. Some of the books' offerings include footnotes and "Suggestions for Further Reading."

Gary Topping is to be commended for offering to Utah's readers and visitors to the state this excellent and varied selection of essays describing and emphasizing the unique character of our nation's own "Dead Sea." The Great Salt Lake is not lifeless at all. It is a place for recreation, and with islands teeming with pelicans

and other birds. Large herds of buffalo and antelope range across Antelope Island.

Readers of this anthology can sit back and enjoy a refreshing look at a Great Salt Lake of historical importance and geographic significance as a prominent feature on the map of the United States.

BRIGHAM D. MADSEN
University of Utah

Warm Sands: Atomic Mill Tailings in the Atomic West By Erick Mogren

(Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002. x + 241 pp. $34.95.)

DURING TWO DECADES from 1978 until 1998, contractors for the Uranium Mill Tailings Action Project (UMTRA) battled to cleanup nearly 45 million cubic yards of low-level radioactive mill tailings at sites throughout the American West. These tailings were found in eleven states and on four Indian reservations. They "silently threatened" the ecosystems of the regions where they were located, jeopardizing the health of uranium mill workers and the general public. The tailings were the "sandy and radioactive effluent" of America's atomic industry. In many places across the West, virtual mountains of this potentially harmful material marked old mill sites. The mill tailings crisis "blighted America's atomic achievement" darkening American dreams of an atomic-powered future. People became increasingly wary of this new energy source.

In Utah the uranium tailings issue was most profound at Salt Lake City's Vitro Chemical Company. Governor Calvin L. Rampton, Sen. Frank L. Moss, and Rep. Wayne Owens were in the forefront of the fight with the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) over uranium mill tailings and Vitro Chemical. Erick Mogren notes that Utah health officials had been "concerned" over Vitro's tailings for years.

In the late 1940s, the AEC had assured Zion's Security Corporation that the land occupied by the Vitro tailings dump could one day be returned to safe use for real estate development—a promise which, according to the author, was "clearly worthless." Several western states, including Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah, were assured by AEC officials that the tailings contamination could be mitigated through an intensive cleanup operation. But, who, the impacted states wondered, was to bear

the cost of mitigating the environmental and health hazards caused by the uranium tailings? Both the AEC and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) attempted to escape any responsibility for the problem. The story of this culpability is well documented in *Warm Sands*.

With Vitro, for example, the AEC agreed that the tailings needed to be removed, but denied full financial obligation for the process. During the 1970s, federal officials attempted to escape full responsibility in the Vitro case by arguing Utah's cost estimate for the cleanup was "unjustified." Utah officials "fumed" at this argument. The federal agencies immediately launched an evaluation study of the tailings removal question. Their findings were troubling, but merely confirmed the large body of documentation that state health officials had been compiling for years: the uranium tailings were, indeed, a public health hazard which must be removed. But who should bear the financial burden of mitigation? The Carter Administration and the Department of Energy (DOE) held that the states should bear at least a portion of the cleanup cost, because they would "benefit the most" from reclamation efforts. The DOE maintained that since the states had already benefited financially from the mills through increased employment and taxes while the mills were operating, the states should pay part of the cleanup cost. Utah lawmakers "bristled" at this suggestion, noting that the Vitro mill indisputably had "substantially negative benefit [for the state]…and would continue to have that negative benefit on into the future"(155).

For Utah and other adjoining Western states, UMTRA would act to varying degrees to cleanup this health problem created during the atomic age. But each culpable party lost some favor with the public. That they had, in Mogren's words, demonstrated glaring "insensitivity" on the part of the uranium industry, along with a "tepid" response by the federal government to this public health issue caused each to be perceived, in the author's judgment, as "environmental villains" to an outraged public. With the current discussion of storing nuclear waste in Utah, this enlightening study should be widely read.

M. GUY BISHOP
Woods Cross, Utah

Disaster at the Colorado: Beale's Wagon Road and the First Emigrant Party

By Charles W. Baley (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2002. xi + 216 pp., $19.95.)

DISASTER AT THE COLORADO relates the tragic story of the Rose-Baley wagon train, their arduous journey across the desiccated hills of northern Arizona, and the overwhelming attack by Mojave Indians on the banks of the Colorado River in 1858. This heart-rending story speaks of deception, of wishful thinking, of both greed and generosity, of heroic sacrifices, and of desperate efforts to survive. It makes the difficulties of emigrating along the Oregon Trail pale by comparison.

In 1857 the Territory of Utah erupted in turmoil when President Buchanan sent General Albert Sidney Johnston and his army to the state to quell the so-called "insurrection" and to install a new Governor. In an attempt to seal the borders to outside travelers, Brigham Young declared martial law. Future emigrant wagon trains headed to southern California could therefore choose either to risk the wrath of the Mormons—as did the Fancher-Baker train that was annihilated at Mountain Meadows—or to find another way. Unfortunately, "another way" generally meant traveling through Arizona, a region of scarce water holes and often-hostile Indians.

Also in 1857, Lt. Edward F. Beale, famous for successfully using camels as pack animals, led an expedition to open a new road from Ft. Smith, Arkansas, to Los Angeles. A critical part of this new road was to cross northern Arizona in an alignment similar to today's Interstate 40. Beale and his men did find a route, although the Lieutenant wrote in his report that before the route could become a road water holes needed to be developed, at least one bridge constructed, and an army post established at the Colorado River crossing point to protect emigrants from the sometimes hostile Mojave Indians.

Leonard John Rose and Gillum Baley separately led their family groups down the Santa Fe Trail to southern Kansas, where they joined into a combined wagon train of "forty men and fifty or sixty women and children, and nearly 500 head of cattle, mostly cows and oxen, and twenty wagons" (15).

In Albuquerque they heard about the new route to California surveyed the year before by Lt. Beale. It was supposedly safer than the southern route through Tucson because it would avoid the abode of the Apaches. Furthermore, it would save about two hun-

dred miles of travel. Merchants in Albuquerque, with much to gain from a viable route through their city, highly recommended the Beale route, even though no wagon train had ever traveled it. As Baley writes, "Being the first emigrant party to use this route, they knew that there would be no one in advance whom they might overtake in case of trouble, nor could they be sure there would be others following them" (30).

Lt. Beale, then in Washington, D.C., was not available to warn the emigrants about substantial dangers lurking on the route—namely shortage of water and probable Indian depredations—but Colonel B.L.E. Bonneville, then Commanding Officer at Albuquerque, advised Rose and Baley that they would find plenty of water and friendly Indians.

On June 26, 1858, the Rose-Baley and their associated family groups crossed the Rio Grande and began their ill-fated journey across what was then the northern part of New Mexico Territory, including what was later designated as Arizona.

After they passed the future site of Flagstaff, water holes became increasingly scarce; some were found only in deep canyons. The heat was intense, forcing them to travel at night. After the Rose-Baley group passed Peach Springs, Hualapai Indians plundered several cattle and almost constantly harassed the travelers. When they finally reached the Colorado River, they were disappointed to find the Mojave Indians surly and arrogant. Then, while the emigrants were dispersed gathering material to make a raft, they were violently attacked by the Mojaves. Although arrows killed some men outright, the surviving emigrants rallied and held off the Indians. But they soon realized that chances of their making a successful crossing of the river were doomed. Their only recourse was to creep away during the night and to return to Albuquerque, leaving most of their wagons and cattle as spoils for the Indians.

With little food, few horses or cattle, and only two wagons, their journey back east was one long desperate fight to avoid starvation, thirst and sheer exhaustion. Fortunately, they were saved by the generosity of another wagon train that had been following in their wake. Both groups, however, had to turn back east.

Author Charles Baley mentions the speculation, still current, that during the Utah War of 1857, Mormons stirred up the Mojave Indians against non-Mormon Americans. He says that Mormon agents had indeed been sent to the Mojaves, as well as to other tribes, but there is no proof that they instigated the vicious attack against the Rose-Baley emigrants.

This episode should be better known in American history, not

only for its human interest, but also for its significance in the pattern of Western migration.

W. L. RUSHO
Salt Lake City, Utah

Yellowcake Towns: Uranium Mining Communities in the American West

By Michael A. Amundson (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2002, xxiv + 204 pp., $24.95.)

"YELLOWCAKE" DOES NOT CARRY with it the tantalizing aroma of riches that the cry of "gold!" once did for Western communities. However, after reading this book which delves into the boom-and-bust cycles so reminiscent of other mining ventures of the West, one could almost exchange the hardhat miner of the Colorado plateau for a goldpan-toting prospector of a century before. It can be summed up as a comparison of two "company towns" (Uravan, Colorado and Jeffery City, Wyoming) and two relatively obscure, rural western towns (Moab, Utah and Grants, New Mexico) and their community responses to the demands of the nuclear age. The book begins with a brief introduction to the initial uses of radium, then vanadium and uranium and their minor importance in the scheme of western mining, and progresses through the stages of the atomic era with explanations for the sudden and unprecedented requirements for uranium, including the secrecy and machinations of the government at the end of World War II. The government's control and regulation of the mining, milling, and flow of uranium on the market during the following forty years figured prominently in the creation of these desert boomtowns as uranium became the currency on which lives and towns were built. The lure of instant riches, the greed and ignorance of mega-companies, and the iron-fisted regulations of the government all operated in unison as the demand for uranium skyrocketed, not once, but twice.

Amundson has microscopically dissected each of the four representative towns, looked at their growing pains and abilities to adapt, and then compared them with each other as the uranium market rotated through the excitement and creation of the boomtown versus the dreaded reality of impending doom and the bust as the artificially inflated demand finally collapsed under realistic pressures. Company towns created solely for the purpose of living

and breathing uranium had few options for survival, while the rural towns of Moab and Grants, although reeling with the implications of the loss of jobs and economic guarantees, still had some opportunities open to them which affected their eventual recovery and diversification. In some instances, the greatest devastation was not only that of the failure of the hometown to succeed but the effect upon general sense of worth of the participants. The dreams, hopes, and unrealized expectations which had been as pervasive as the radioactivity of the nearby tailings piles died slowly, but with a finality that Amundson graphically describes as each town faced its own potential demons of economic collapse.

When used as a resource for facts and figures, the repetition found in several areas of the book is not a problem. However, the redundancy becomes somewhat of a stumbling block when the chronology of events is interrupted to reiterate events described completely and sufficiently earlier in the book. Other than this recapitulation, the information provides us with not only an in-depth picture of the fluctuations of the demands for uranium over the previous half century but also a personal look at the health and economic implications on people and communities who supported such ventures at the behest of their government. The members of these communities are still discovering that not only did they bet on the wrong ballgame but that the residuals of the industry are continuing to haunt them in the form of radioactive tailings, cancers, and unfulfilled government promises.

RUSTY SALMON
Dan O'Laurie Canyon Country Museum, Moab

BOOK NOTICES

The Gathering Place: An Illustrated History of Salt Lake City By John S. McCormick (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2000. xii + 290 pp. $39.95.)

To most Utahns the term "Gathering Place" usually conjures up thoughts of resolute Mormon pioneers making their way to Salt Lake City by ship, covered wagon, and handcart from the far corners of the world. But historian John McCormick sees in the history of Salt Lake City much more than just this part of the story. The gathering, and consequently the history of Salt Lake City, involves many people from the prehistoric residents to those who came as 19th century pioneers or 20th century immigrants from Europe, Asia, Africa, the Pacific Islands, and other parts of the world. Using a treasure of historical photographs and an insightful and well-written text, McCormick presents a history of Salt Lake City that he defines as "painfully rich and diverse…extraordinarily interesting…complicated and ambiguous, full of paradox and irresolution. It is the story not just of one people, but of many peoples—many voices, experiences, points of view, traditions, values, and ways of life—and of their complex interplay. Salt Lake has always been a multicultural, multiethnic, and multiracial city, and its past has belonged not to just one group, but to many" (x).

In a large sense, *The Gathering Place* is an alternative history to what McCormick labels "The Official Story" reminding us of the words of Plato "Those who hold the power also tell the stories." And while it is an alternative history, it is in its own way a triumphant history in that the struggles and lives of fur traders, Mormons, African Americans, politicians, businessmen, anarchists, communists, socialists, gays, lesbians, and many others do come forth to illustrate the richness and diversity of human life even in Salt Lake City.

The eleven chapters are presented in a general chronological order and entitled: The Search for Zion; Defying the Desert, Establishing the Kingdom; The First Generation; Conflict and Concession; The Nineteenth-Century City; A City of Immigrants; The Built Environment; Hard Times; The World War II Years; Contrasting Cultures and Lifestyles; and As Complex a Place as Can Be Imagined.

Lewis and Clark among the Indians By James P. Ronda (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, Bicentennial Edition, 2002. 310 pp. Paper, $17.95.)

This volume is published as a bicentennial edition for the forthcoming bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. *Lewis and Clark among the Indians* was first published in 1984. The author's objective is to write a "full-scale contact study" of the "official and personal relations between the explorers and the Indians." This book is a compelling study of the long neglected but important cultural relationships between the two "human communities," a story that "reflects the diversity of the West itself." Using narrative history, Ronda approaches his

study of the expedition with what he calls "exploration ethnohistory" or more simply put using ethnohistory that draws heavily on available anthropological and archaeological literature, unpublished research studies, academic tribal histories, voices of the Indian people through invaluable oral traditions, and the expedition's journals.

Faces and Voices of Refugee Youth Edited and compiled by Joyce A. Kelen and Leslie G. Kelen. Photographs by Kent M. Miles (Salt Lake City: Center for Documentary Arts, 2002. 62 pp. Paper, $9.95.)

Faces and Voices of Refugee Youth introduces us to thirty-one recent young immigrants to Salt Lake City. These youngsters range in age from four to eighteen and come from sixteen different countries—Bosnia, Congo, Croatia, Cuba, Gambia, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Kosovo, Kurdistan, the Philippines, Russia, Serbia, Somalia, Sudan, and Vietnam.

Compilers Joyce and Leslie Kelen are intimately familiar with the refugee experience but from different perspectives. Joyce is a school social worker who has been involved with the young students in Salt Lake City schools. Leslie was himself a young refugee having been born in Hungary, relocating to Israel at the age of eight and two years later arriving in the Bronx, New York, as a fifth grader who spoke no English.

The thirty-one children introduced in this volume are just a few of more than eighteen hundred youth from twenty-two different nations who came to Utah as refugees between 1994 and 1999. But more than statistics, the faces and words of these late-twentieth century pioneers bring a flood of emotions to the reader as they recount their flight—usually from war-torn lands—their search for a safe haven, and the heartaches and hopes which have already shaped their young lives.

Utah Art, Utah Artists: 150 Years Survey By Vern G. Swanson, Robert S. Olpin, Donna L. Poulton, Janie l. Rogers (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith Publisher, 2002. 192 pp. Paper, $29.95.)

Utah Art, Utah Artists was produced to accompany an exhibition of 150 years of Utah art at the Springville Museum of Art. The exhibition was part of the 2002 Winter Cultural Olympiad that was open during the first four months of 2002 and included the works of 227 artists from 1850 to 2001. The beautifully illustrated book has 120 color plates and over 50 black and white photographs. The text includes an introduction to the exhibit, an essay "Utah Arts, Utah Artists: An American Art History" by Robert S. Olpin, and biographical sketches of the

artists whose works were part of the exhibition. The brief biographies are organized in chronological order by birth year of the artists beginning with William Warner Major born in 1804 and concluding with J. Kirk Richards born in 1976.

Selling the Indian: Commercializing and Appropriating American Cultures

Edited by Carter Jones Meyer and Diana Royer (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2001. xix + 279 pp. Cloth, $40.00; paper, $22.95.)

The eight essays in this volume examine the practice of "cultural imperialism" against American Indians during the twentieth century. The editors write "Non-Indians, enamored of the perceived strengths of native culture, have appropriated and distorted elements of their cultures for their own purposes, more often than not ignoring the impact of the process on the Indians themselves" (xi).

The essays in Part I, "Staging the Indian," analyze ways in which Indians have been displayed to the public at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, Tillicum Village at Blake Island State Park in Washington, and in the popular media including movies, television, and romance novels. The concluding essay in Part I tells of one American Indian's response to this commercialization thrust through his efforts to revitalize traditional music and dancing.

Part II "Marketing the Indian" looks at examples of marketing Indian culture and art, and the impact of tourism on the American Indian. While none of the eight essays deal with Utah's American Indians specifically, the essay "Saving the Pueblos: Commercialism and Indian Reform in the 1920s," by Carter Jones Meyer looks at the preservation efforts among the Pueblo Indians in the neighboring states of Arizona and New Mexico.

The Men of the Lewis & Clark Expedition By Charles G. Clarke: introduction by Dayton Duncan (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2002. xxvi + 351 pp. Paper, $16.95.)

The author, using extant journals of Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, Sergeants John Ordway, Patrick Gass, and Charles Floyd, and Private Joseph Whitehouse, provides the reader a composite "diary" concerning the personalities of each of the men of the famed Corps of Discovery and their health and general welfare. The volume also contains brief biographies of each of the fifty-one men who were members of the expedition. The success of this historic expedition lies, in large part, with the individuals who performed the day-to-day chores of hunting, preparing meals, propelling the canoes, wrangling horses, providing liaison with the various Indians, and the other necessary activities of the expedition.

The Sagebrush State: Nevada's History, Government, and Politics; second edition

By Michael W. Bowers (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2002. xiv + 241 pp. Paper, $16.95.)

This second edition is an update from 1996 through 2001. It has been a textbook for the Nevada state constitution component required for graduation from all of Nevada's colleges and universities. The author captures the dynamics of the historical and environmental forces that have influenced Nevada's government and politics in eleven chapters. Some of the chapters are: "Nevada: Origins and Early History," "Civil Rights and Liberties in Nevada," "Political Parties and Elections," "The Nevada Legislature," "City and County Governments," "State and Local Finances."

No Toil Nor Labor Fear: The Story of William Clayton By James B. Allen (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 2002. xxv + 454 pp. Cloth, $29.95, paper, $19.95.)

William Clayton is perhaps best known for his composition of the Mormon pioneer hymn "Come, Come, Ye Saints" a phrase from which is used as the title for this volume. This excellent biography was first published as *Trials of Discipleship: The Story of William Clayton, a Mormon* by the University of Illinois Press in 1987 and reviewed in the Summer 1989 issue of the *Utah Historical Quarterly*. Clayton joined the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in 1837 in England at the age of twenty-three. He died in 1879 at the age of sixty-five. He lived a complex and interesting life and his journals and correspondence are some of the best primary sources on the early Mormon experience. His *The Latter-day Saints' Emigrants' Guide*, prepared during the 1847 trek to Utah with the vanguard pioneer group, became one of the most used western trail guides by Mormon and other emigrant wagon trains. Despite his faithfulness and monumental contributions, Clayton possessed a number of human frailties that the author does not ignore. This new edition includes minor revisions and corrections, new photographs, and two new appendices. One identifies the various entries in Joseph Smith's *History of the Church* that were taken from Clayton's journal. The second is Clayton's "History of the Nauvoo Temple" written circa 1845.

Montana Legacy: Essays on History, People, and Place Edited by Harry W. Fritz, Mary Murphy, Robert R. Swartout, Jr. (Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 2002. x + 375 pp. Paper, $19.95.)

This anthology is designed for both students and the general reader of history. The sixteen essays, edited by three noted Montana historians, reflect current scholarship, interpretation, and approaches to a wide array of Montana history topics. Some of the topics are: "The 1959 Montana State Prison Riot," "The Great Falls Home Front during World War II," "Birth Control, Prenatal Care, and Childbirth in Rural Montana, 1910-1940," "A Reconsideration of the Clark-Daly Feud," and "Gender and Prohibition in Butte, Montana."

Language Shift among the Navajos: Identity Politics and Cultural Continuity By Deborah House (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2002. xxvii + 122 pp. $35.00.)

This slim volume raises a disturbing question: "Navajos without Navajo? Is the time coming when there will exist a world without the Navajo language?" (xiv). Based on her years of teaching and research at Diné College at Tsaile, Arizona, the author eloquently voices the concern expressed by many Navajo and Anglos alike that "…the 'traditional' Navajo cultural core is not intact. It is crumbling; it is in danger of changing beyond what is safe and necessary for the Navajos as a people" (xxvi). A major force behind this cultural deterioration is that the traditional language is not being learned by the young nor is it being used by enough of those who speak it. Instead, English has become the dominant language of the Navajo and its exclusive use threatens to render Navajo a dead language. However, this need not happen and the solution, House argues, is found in the traditional Navajo belief in harmony and balance where Navajos can learn and use both languages without the perception or stigma that one language is superior and the other inferior. In reaching an effective harmony and balance where both languages serve the needs of Navajos, the Navajo language should be encouraged in the home, schools, ceremonies, and other cultural activities.

Fugitive Slave in the Gold Rush: Life and Adventures of James Williams By James Williams (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002. xiii + 119 pp. Paper, $16.95.)

This first person account by a runaway slave will be of interest to a variety of readers—those interested in nineteenth-century sea voyages and travel, the California Gold Rush, the development of Nevada's Comstock Lode silver

mines, the experience of African-Americans in the West, and American slavery. First published in 1893 more than a half century after Williams escaped from Maryland into Pennsylvania via the Underground Railroad, the book demonstrates the author's considerable writing and story-telling skills. A well-traveled man, Williams visited Salt Lake City and includes a brief, but favorable, account of the Mormon city. An introduction by University of Iowa history professor Malcolm J. Rohrbough provides a useful perspective to Williams, his times, and his book.

An American Cycling Odyssey, 1887 By Kevin J. Hayes (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002. xiii + 200 pp. Paper, $27.95.)

George W. Nellis Jr., a twenty-one-year-old apprenticed newspaperman and expert wheelman (bicyclist), pedaled across the United States in 1887 on a fifty-two-inch Columbia Expert bicycle. Kevin J. Hayes carefully uses Nellis's daily dispatches to several hometown newspapers, a national cycling magazine, and letters to provide the reader with descriptive challenges and observations of Nellis's seventy-two day epic journey. In Utah, Nellis followed the route of the transcontinental railroad around the north end of the Great Salt Lake with a day-long side trip by train to Salt Lake City. Often cycling between the rails and across the bumpy railroad ties, Nellis visited the out-of-the way railroad stops such as Seco, Kelton, Ombey, and Terrace before arriving at Tecoma, Nevada.

Expectations for the Millennium: American Socialist Visions of the Future Edited by Peter H. Buckingham (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002. xiii + 194, $62.50.)

Utah historians John R. Sillito and John S. McCormick are among the eleven contributors to this collection of essays on aspects of the American Socialist movement. Their article "Our Political Faith is Socialism, Our Religious Faith is the Latter-day Saints: Socialist Mormons and their Millennial Vision in the Early Twentieth Century," takes its title from a statement placed in the cornerstone of the Springville High School gymnasium at its dedication in 1913 by the school's janitor and committed socialist, A.L. Porter. Porter is one of five Utah and Mormon socialists described in the article. Sillito and McCormick go on to explain why socialists were able to sink deep roots in early twentieth-century Utah, and why there is so little trace of socialism in Utah today. Readers interested in the Industrial Workers of the World and Joe Hill will also want to read the concluding article in the volume by Dan Georgakas, "The IWW Vision: Building a New Society Within the Shell of the Old."

Jeannette Rankin: America's Conscience By Norma Smith (Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 2002. 233 pp. Paper, $17.95.)

Based primarily on interviews and conversations, Norma Smith provides the reader with a sympathetic biography of one of America's most distinguished women, Jeannette Rankin. Rankin was the first woman elected to the United States Congress and the only representative that voted not once but twice against the United States' entry into wars, World War I and World War II. She continued to support world peace and was opposed to United States involvement in Vietnam. Rankin was a leading advocate for children's protective legislation, women's rights, and election reform. This volume is filled with "invaluable anecdotes and insights" into the political life of Jeannette Rankin.

The Man and His Mountains: The Paul Rokich Story Compiled and edited by Zach Cononelos (Salt Lake City: Kennecott Utah Copper, 2002. xx + 127 pp. Paper, $19.95.)

This volume on the life of Paul Rokich will appeal to many readers—conservationists, environmentalists, scientists, mining enthusiasts, past and present Kennecott Copper workers, oral historians, and anyone fascinated by the Oquirrh Mountains that form the western boundary of the Salt Lake Valley.

Born in 1933 at Smelter Camp on the north slope of the Oquirrh Mountains to immigrant parents from Croatia, Paul Rokich grew up in Magna. After two years military service he enrolled at the University of Utah where he studied botany under Professor Walter P. Cottam. In 1958 Rokich began working on his own to reclaim Black Rock Canyon. After fifteen years, he was hired by Kennecott Copper in 1973 and worked until his retirement in 2001 on a variety of reclamation projects including the tailings ponds, the introduction of elk herds, and the return of other wildlife to the Oquirrhs.

From June 1998 to March 2001, Zach Cononelos conducted eleven oral history interviews with Paul Rokich—most of them in the Oquirrh Mountains. He transcribed the interviews, edited them, organized the text into ten chapters, wrote informative introductions to each chapter, and an excellent overview of the history of the area and the Kennecott operations in the Oquirrh Mountains.

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The Utah State Historical Society was organized in 1897 by public-spirited Utahns to collect, preserve, and publish Utah and related history. Today, under state sponsorship, the Society fulfills its obligations by publishing the *Utah Historical Quarterly* and other historical materials; collecting historic Utah artifacts; locating, documenting, and preserving historic and prehistoric buildings and sites; and maintaining a specialized research library. Donations and gifts to the Society's programs, museum, or its library are encouraged, for only through such means can it live up to its responsibility of preserving the record of Utah's past.

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